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Wednesday, October 1, 1958

The Bundestag opened in Berlin today. I should like to have attended it. However, because of the question of precedence affecting the position of the British, French and American Ambassadors as High Commissioners in Berlin, the Foreign Office decided it would be better not to invite the Diplomatic Corps. The chief topic of discussion during the meeting will apparently be the sorry conditions prevailing in the East Zone and the efflux from it of refugees to the West.

Had a German lesson.

Since I have been here, I have never known office work of an interesting character to be so light. The same can not be said of administrative and personnel problems. Some of the people in the Plittersdorf Community are interested, quite properly, in expanding the inadequate school facilities there. However, the only source of financing would be to levy on the cash in the Community Services fund. There is about $55,000 net in banks, as well as an inventory of about $190,000. The school addition would cost $72,000, and some of our people are in favor of spending what we have and borrowing the rest for this purpose. The whole operation of Community Services is complicated. The turnover is more than a million dollars a year and at the present time a large deficit is being contracted. Schemes

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have been advanced for raising dues at the Club, differentiating between American and foreign members, increasing prices at Commissary, and a host of other propositions. Few have taken the trouble to examine or to understand the complicated balance sheet and the management problems.

Thursday, October 2, 1958

I called General Hodes this morning to see if there were a possibility of getting help from USAREUR on the financing of our proposed school expansion. He said it was impossible, that he had no funds for such purposes, and even if he did it would be against the law to use them in that way. He is thoroughly familiar with the situation and has shown the utmost goodwill about it.

I went to see President Heuss at noon to present him with the colored photograph of Monticello presented by the Virginians to the people of Germany. He was very chatty and we had a good time talking about Thomas Jefferson and the influence of Palladio on the architecture of the University of Virginia. On his American tour Heuss had been greatly impressed by the beauty and tranquillity of the campus at Dartmouth College.

German lesson.

Friday, October 3, 1958

I went to see the Peruvian Ambassador this morning He is

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worried over his country's exports of lead and zinc (which comprise about 20 per cent of all their expdrts) being affected by the recent U. S. quota decision.

Had a German lesson.

Saw Dr. James Meader, Director of the USIS Information Centers Services.

Joe Dasher came to see me. He had been in Casablanca where he talked to our mutual Polish friend, Colonel Gano.

It was a heavenly autumnal day, temperature about 60.

In Berlin, Lemmer, the Minister for All-German Affairs, made a speech in the Bundestag giving the statistics of immigration to the West Zone from the East Zone. More than three million people have left the East Zone since 1949. Between January 1 and August 31 of this year, 813 doctors, veterinarians, surgeons and dentists have taken refuge, compared with 260 in the same period last year, and many places are without doctors. Since the beginning of the year 250 professors have come out, and in August alone 619 teachers, of whom two-thirds had been trained since 1945. The Federal Government has appealed to both the doctors and teachers in the East Zone to remain at their posts as long as possible in view of the needs of the population for their services.

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Saturday, October 4, 1958

Al Wells came out to the house with telegrams. The Department has answered our request for the text of de Gaulle's private letter to the President by sending us a copy. The General's communications to Macmillan and Eisenhower became known to the Germans and Italians a day or so ago. Upon reading the text, one understands the reason for the Italians saying, through Brosio, that if the United States and the United Kingdom were to accept the de Gaulle proposals Italy would have to reappraise its foreign policy. Thus far, we have heard nothing on the subject from the Germans, probably due to the Chancellor's absence in Berlin. De Gaulle advocated the extension of the area of NATO responsibilities on the theory the world is indivisible. He spoke of French interest both in the Near East and Far East and, in effect, asked for a political triumvirate to be composed of France, the U. S. and the U. K.

There is nothing new, as far as he is concerned, about these ideas, for he has always considered the mission of France to be worldwide and that it is the logical spokesman for all the Western European powers.

It is unclear as to how the leak occurred. Spaak was brought into the secret, and Blankenhorn and his Italian NATO colleagues were briefed by Joxe. Thus far in this Embassy we have been told

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not to discuss the affair at all with the Germans.

Sunday, October 5, 1958

A beautiful day. I took David and Nickey for a long walk. As evening fell, there was great excitement in the house, for the World Series game was to be broadcast at 6:45. The children are walking encyclopedias in their knowledge of professional baseball. They seem to have learned the batting averages of all the famous players back to the days of Ty Cobb by heart. Some of these players have acquired in their minds the status of mythological heroes. The children have each bet fifty pfennig on the Milwaukee Braves against me, and I am the lone supporter of the New York Yankees. The game is really fascinating over the radio, and the Braves won 2-0, giving them 3 out of the first 4 games.

Monday, October 6, 1958

Paul Hayes, the NATO Security Representative at the German Foreign Office, came to see me. He says the security measures taken in various German Governmental departments are becoming more effective.

Mike Handler brought in his successor, Mr. Sydney Gruson, and his wife this afternoon. They have been stationed in Warsaw. They both seem alert and intelligent.

Irving Brown came to see me and we had a long talk. He is

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pessimistic about de Gaulle's chances of success in settling the Algerian problem, but thinks he is the only Frenchman capable of doing so. He expects to spend a month or more in Germany investigating trade union conditions here.

E left for Berchtesgaden to attend the CAWAE meeting. David and Nicky were utterly dejected since the Yankees rolled over the Braves 7-0, cutting the latter's lead to 3-2.

Kit Steel dined with me alone. We had a really magnificent bottle of Chateau Latour 1918. Prime Minister Macmillan is coming here Thursday. Steel does not yet know what Adenauer or his own Premier will have to say about the de Gaulle letters to Eisenhower and Macmillan.

Kit had a long vacation in Scotland, the high point of which was killing a ten pound salmon on a light trout rod and tiny fly. They struggled against each other until night, and after two hours and forty minutes, with the aid of a torch he netted the fish.

I have been reading Bulfinch's "Age of Mythology" with the children, and regret I have for so long neglected this admirable book.

Tuesday, October 8, 1958

I went to see the Moroccan Ambassador El Fassi this morning. He said many Algerian refugees from France were coming into Germany. He estimated there were 2000 of them here at the present

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time, many of whom had come to his office and asked for assistance. He believes most of them will make their way to Berlin and go over to the East Zone. He strongly favors the promise by France of ultimate independence for Algeria. However, believing the French Government will not agree to this, he predicts guerrilla warfare and terrorism will continue in Algeria indefinitely.

Admiral Burke, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was to have had lunch with me today, but he canceled his trip on the grounds he was too occupied with affairs in Washington to leave the capital.

We have been doing a piece here on German reaction to the Quemoy-Matsu crisis. The Germans are fearful of anything which might lead to war and have made no official pronouncements on the subject of American policy in the Far East. However, there is a strong undercurrent of opinion in the Foreign Office that the United States should have forced the withdrawal of Chiang's troops from the outlying islands long ago. If it were done now, apprehension would arise lest the United States might not honor other engagements elsewhere.

German lesson.

Wednesday, October 8, 1958

Mr. Ollenhauer came to lunch with me alone. We had a long talk about conditions in France, especially the future of the Socialist Party. As a member of the Action Committee for Europe, he is attending a meeting next week in Paris and expects to see Monnet

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there. He is not unduly worried about the number of refugees coming over from the East Zone, but thinks the East Germans have good reason to be disturbed over this situation. He hopes the Soviets may consent to attend a four-power meeting and discuss the reunification of Germany. He engaged in no comments whatever of a partisan political nature.

German lesson.

Bob Loupe and I visited the MAAG quarters this afternoon and met many of the members, as well as the various Army and Air Force press officers.

Thursday, October 9, 1958

I went to see a film showing here this morning in the Embassy theatre. The picture was confiscated in Duesseldorf by the German police and was made either in the East Zone or the USSR. It depicted the horrors of warfare and the main theme was the subservience of the Federal Republic to American militarism.

Eleanor Dulles came to see me this morning. She is on her way home in connection with the hospital. The American members of the Stiftung seem to be having some difficulties amongst themselves.

Felix von Eckardt came to lunch with Bill Tyler and myself. He talked [redacted] frankly about the difficulties which would follow any leak of the contents of deGaulle's letters to the President and

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Macmillan, especially those parts claiming for France a place in a political triumvirate. This afternoon we sent the following telegram to the Department on the subject:

(See pages 10-11-12 following)

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM — AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT ☐

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OCTOBER 9, 1958 6PM
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Sent to: SecState (NIACT) 777

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I have just seen von Eckardt after departure MacMillan. He told me that talks had gone off very well and that atmosphere had been cordial. Von Eckardt raised subject de Gaulle memorandum and said Chancellor was greatly concerned lest matter leak to press. In view Chancellor's glowing accounts his talks with de Gaulle, revelation that de Gaulle had kept from him topic of such importance to Germans as basic revision NATO, especially political triumvirate, would now place Chancellor in position of having been deceived by de Gaulle, and this would doubtless be exploited by political opposition particularly in absence any other important issues. Von Eckardt stressed importance coordination statements to be made Washington, London, Bonn, Rome in event leak to press. British Under Secretary State Information Ralph Murray arriving Bonn Friday connection forthcoming Heuss visit London and von Eckardt

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT ☐

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semblance justification such suspicion could cause grievous damage to German attitudes and relations with French and ourselves.

For this reason I believe we should avoid substantial interim reply de Gaulle even along lines suggested by British, which might be taken by Germans imply our willingness discuss, in sense proposed by French, many problems raised by basic revision NATO. On other hand, I see danger allowing matter rest too long without some reaction by us, since Germans would tend suspect secret consultations behind their backs, and whole issue might be aired public press with unhappy consequences.

Therefore, I support suggestion informal tripartite meeting Washington in fairly near future, as means opening de Gaulle's eyes major problems and dangers inherent his proposal. From our viewpoint, condition success such meeting would be full confidential briefing Germans (as well as Italians) on discussions and that French be aware this.

BRUCE

AUTH: Ambassador D. K. E. Bruce

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Form AE/GER-581 (Jul 57)

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I had a full staff meeting [redacted] then saw Warren Pierson, Chairman of TWA and some of his people. They are anxious to obtain access for their planes to Berlin. I have advised the Department of this.

I went to call on Kit Steel who told me about the meetings between Macmillan and Adenauer. He has made a complete report on them to the British Embassy in Washington, so I did not attempt to duplicate it in a message to the Department. His general comments were to remark on the excellent atmosphere in which the talks took place. He said his Prime Minister has a genuine admiration for the Chancellor. Adenauer evidently felt deceived and resentful that the subjects raised in de Gaulle's letters to the President and Macmillan had not been discussed with him on the occasion of his visit to Colombey.

E arrived back at 9:36 p.m. from Berchtesgaden, and we left at 11:30 for Berlin.

Pope Pius XII, [redacted] died early today.

The Yankees defeated the Braves last night 4-3 and the children were [redacted] sad about it this morning. **I won my bet.**

Friday, October 10, 1958

We arrived in Berlin this morning. I saw Hamlett and Gufler at the office. I had with Gufler a talk about personnel matters.

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Amongst other things Hamlett told me of the growing feeling on the part of the Germans to cut down or eliminate our screening of East Zone refugees. This is a subject I have often discussed with our Intelligence people here. There are many advantages, from our standpoint, in continuing this type of processing, but it has now become a political issue in Berlin.

The various curtailments of State Department personnel in Germany are causing concern in our Berlin Mission. As an over-all proposition USIS has been perhaps the hardest hit element in our operations. Its fiscal year 1959 allocation is 9% below FY1958 and 35% below FY 1957, despite increasing fixed costs. Its largest single expense is the support of the RIAS activity. This again involves delicate political considerations. We will have to discuss this with George Allen during his visit later this month.

Saturday, October 11, 1958

Like yesterday, this was a beautiful day. E and I went shopping and sightseeing, then lunched at the Maison de France. This is a genial place.

We left tonight for Mehlem.

Sunday, October 12, 1958

At the office today. Left this evening for Paris.

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Monday, October 13, 1958

Arrived this morning in Paris. I went to see Glenn Wolfe at the Embassy and afterwards had a long talk with Randy Kidder about Franco-German affairs. Amory Houghton left for home yesterday and will not be back for five weeks. Cecil Lyon is in charge. I talked to him on the telephone and we are to lunch with him when we return to Paris next week.

Dear Tita Mendenhall is dying of cancer.

I saw Flo Palmer, [redacted] then met Geoffrey Parsons and one of the Northrop executives. They [redacted] sought my advice as to how they might best make an appointment with Minister Strauss. I suggested they attempt it through Blankenhorn whom Parsons knows quite well.

I lunched with Jean Monnet at 83 Avenue Foch. He told me some interesting things about de Gaulle's accession to power and about his own plans for the future of his Action Committee. He was in fine spirits. He does not know of the move, regarding which Max Kohnstamm telephoned me, to surprise him with a birthday party next month in Paris when he reaches the age of 70.

I discussed with him the matter of his cooperating in having his biography written. He has been approached many times on this subject but has always refused. He said he would talk it over with Sylvia and let me know.

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Buck Crawford flew over from London to see me this afternoon. We went over the various financial statements with which we are mutually concerned, then he flew back to England.

I stopped for a moment to see Pernet who gave me some money for things he had sold for my account.

E and I had dinner at Calvet's.

Tuesday, October 14, 1958

Starting yesterday morning, I have had a series of telephone calls from various people in SHAPE, USRO and the Embassy, about the favorite game of American diplomats, which seems to be holding meetings.

This morning I saw General Palmer and George West of the Embassy, and we took up the Steinstuecken affair. General Palmer, speaking for Lauric Norstad, wanted me to agree that we would try to establish a joint position in Europe as to our future policy toward this exclave and thereafter make a recommendation to the various interested authorities in Washington. I agreed to this.

E and I went to the lunch at Versailles given by Minister of National Education Jean Berthoin and his wife at the Grand Trianon. When we entered the Grand Salon we found the other guests already assembled. Wilfrid and Christiane Baumgartner, Gerald Vanderkemp, Monsieur Japy (the former architect of Versailles), Monsieur

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Salete (his successor), Denise Mayer, and many other people connected with the restoration of Versailles were there, including Welles Bosworth and his wife. Welles retired from active practice decades ago, but has continued in an honorary capacity to represent the Rockefeller interests in France. He told me he would be 90 this year, and he looked the picture of health.

I had been advised at the Embassy that David Rockefeller and Arthur Houghton might be present, but beyond that had been given no information about the occasion. However, they were not there.

To my utter surprise, as soon as we entered, the Minister seized a microphone. There were many photographers and much television apparatus. He delivered a eulogy on the interest E and I had always taken in the restoration of Versailles and wound up by draping around my neck a beautiful enribboned cross, the highest award given for participation in French arts, letters and cultural affairs. After being kissed on both cheeks, I made what I hope was a suitable reply. E was then presented with a porcelain box from the Sèvres factory, and Welles Bosworth delivered a short discourse on behalf of the Rockefeller brothers, to whom some allusion had been made.

We then went in to a beautiful dining room which, like the Salon, had been completely furnished for this occasion, and sat down

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to such a meal as only the French can produce. There were representatives from General de Gaulle's Cabinet, the Foreign Office, the Presidency and so forth. After having polished off lunch, we made a tour which embraced climbing over the scaffolding of the roof of the Grand Trianon. It was fascinating to see how far this work has progressed and with what care it has been carried out. Next we visited Marie Antoinette's Hameau, where we saw for the first time the restored Chambre de la Reine. They have done a marvelous job there of reproducing the old wall coverings, floors and the rest.

We then went to the cow barn. It has been completely renovated and will serve as a restaurant. A great many people, invited for the post-luncheon walk, had by this time joined us - amongst others Ann and Dean Jay and Madame Francois-Poncet. A considerable tea with cakes and drinks was served there. It was still in full swing when we reluctantly drove off so that I could keep an appointment with Randy Burgess at 5:30 at the Palais Talleyrand. He, Fritz Nolting and I agreed, as far as we were concerned, on what should be the proper procedure to follow in response to de Gaulle's letter.

After a few minutes at the hotel, E and I went off to dinner at the Restaurant Drouant, where we had the best smelts I have ever tasted.

We then proceeded around the corner to the Theatre de la Michodière where Yvonne and Pierre Fresnay were playing in a

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revival of "Le Père". It was amusing and excellently done by these skilled actors. We had hoped to see the Fresnays afterwards, but the play was not over until midnight, so we gave it up. Yvonne is well along in years and has become a bit heavy but [redacted] has as much charm as ever.

Wednesday, October 15, 1958

We came back this morning on a Lufthansa plane to Duesseldorf and I went to the office.

At 6:00 p.m. I called on von Brentano and later sent off the following telegram to the Department. (See pages 20 and 21).

Tonight I took the train to Bremen with Al Wells.

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PAGE TO 18 RR/AG

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15 October 1958 7 PM
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SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON (PRIORITY) 822

I saw FonMin tonight. He will be Rome Saturday, leaving Sunday for London connection Heuss visit. Hopes see Secretary Rome.

Re Adenauer-Smirnow conversation yesterday, FonMin said it was absolutely negative and completely unsatisfactory.

We will shortly be furnished copy Aide Memoire left with Chancellor by Smirnow at conclusion meeting; it is still in process translation.

Chancellor opened discussion by speaking of intolerable conditions in Soviet Zone Germany and Soviet responsibility therefor. Smirnow answered by commenting orally on contents Aide Memoire; mentioned FedRep did not really favor disarmament, was closely allied with opponents Soviet Govt, was against suspension nuclear tests, and in general was hostile to Soviet Union. In FonMin's opinion, most important statement by Sov Amb was assertion East Germany an independent and sovereign state and he was under instructions from Moscow not to discuss or receive communications relating to matters within Pankow jurisdiction.

At end of meeting, Chancellor asked Smirnow for agreement on what should be said to press. They decided to say they had discussed relations between Soviet and FedRep Govts and the conversations would be continued. Shortly thereafter Public Relations Officer Soviet Embassy violated this agreement in interview with newspaper correspondents.

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Brentano had no illusions before meeting as to constructive possibilities that might flow from it. According to him, Adenauer very disappointed with what were evidently instructions received by Smirnow during his stay this summer at Moscow and found them thoroughly incompatible with what had been said to Chancellor by Mikoyan.

No mention of Spandau was made by either side. FonMin thinks recent press statements ~~made~~ on subject were inspired by Pervuhkin. Said he had investigated source of stories and feels sure they did not result from leak out of his Foreign Office.

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Thursday, October 16, 1958

Al Wells and I arrived in Bremen at 8:30 a.m. and were met by Consul General Harrison Lewis. We drove immediately to a small Gasthaus in the country, about twenty minutes from the station, where our hosts Herr Kleinert and Herr Gerken, with two of their German friends, were awaiting us. We took to the field in a downpour of rain. The wind was of gale proportions, and it was cold enough to numb one's fingers. However, the sun came out by fits and starts, and we had mackerel sky weather all day.

Herr Kleinert is a dairy farmer and, like his companions, was a [redacted] sportsmanlike, generous, and courteous associate. His wire-haired pointer, Aster, eight years old, is as fine a bird dog as I have ever seen - without her I doubt whether we would have seen more than half a dozen pheasants, and as a retriever she is superb.

The country over which we plodded an estimated eight to ten miles is flat, marshy cattleland, with occasional cabbage and root patches, intersected by small canals. Without rubber boots, we would have had difficulty traversing the fields. It was unprecedentedly wet, even for this naturally soggy terrain, and where the pheasants we did not flush had found dry shelter was impossible to surmise.

I've never had a pleasanter shoot. At the end of the day the seven of us had killed 13 pheasants and two hares and had really worked hard

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to do so. As the Germans insisted on placing me in the most promising positions, I got five of the pheasants. We saw a good many snipe and a few ducks in the distance, but only one covey of partridges.

We had an uproarious lunch in a little Gasthaus, with four rounds of the local spirits and much beer. We ate, except for bread and butter, nothing but freshly smoked eel. They were delicious; one chops off the head, then peels the skin away in a single movement, unclothing the pinkish body, which is eaten like corn on the cob. It was a gratifying though greasy procedure. After lunch, one host made a speech, and presented me with a case containing a knife, fork and spoon with hunting scenes engraved on them.

We took the train back about five-thirty, and were home shortly after eleven p.m.

Friday, October 17, 1958

Nicky had his tonsils and adenoids out yesterday. He returned home today and seemed in excellent spirits, perhaps as a result of of having received some presents as partial compensation for his operation.

Ambassador Seydoux came to see me this afternoon with Curien of his Embassy. He wanted to know what I had been told about the recent Adenauer-Smirnow interview. I relayed to him what von Brentano had told me.

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Charles Frost, father of William Frost, an Embassy Political Officer, came to call.

I had a talk with Weir Brown about various matters connected with Doug Dillon's economic activities. The chief one is to persuade the Germans to go along with our ideas about the interest rate on the loans to Turkey. The British are holding out for 6% whereas the others are willing to agree to a lower figure. We are also concerned over the Federal Republic's agricultural policies and its special bilateral deals with other European countries.

Saturday, October 18, 1958

I went over some cables. The question of how to answer de Gaulle's letter is still agitating those concerned in the Foreign Offices of Washington, London, Rome and Bonn.

I went to the airport to meet the Dillons who arrived just before lunch. I had a good deal of conversation with Douglas this afternoon. He has a keen mind and was full of impressions regarding his recent trip to India. Phyllis and he came up from Geneva and met their daughter, Joan Moseley, here. She is also staying with us.

We had a dinner for them tonight, with the following guests: Ambassador and Mrs. Butterworth, Ambassador and Mrs. Seydoux, the Ambassador of Japan and Mrs. Takeuchi, Minister of the Interior and Mrs. Schroeder, State Secretary and Mrs. van Scherpenberg,

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State Secretary Westrick, Dr. and Mrs. Pferdmenges, Countess Elisabeth Werthern, Charles S. Whitehouse and Graham Martin (members of the Dillon party), Mr. and Mrs. Trimble, and Al Wells.

Sunday, October 19, 1958

E and I went to church this morning, then lunched with the Dillon family before motoring with them to the Wahn airport, from which they departed for Berlin where Douglas is having a conference of economic officers from the various Western European embassies.

I left tonight by train for Munich.

Monday, October 20, 1958

I went to Eddie Page's office. Bob Coe was there. He is buying a house near Cannes and seemed happy with his present life as a retired diplomat.

At noon I went to the meeting at RFE of the Crusaders for Freedom, who are making a tour of Radio Free Europe installations. There were 75 or 80 of them. I made a speech on a personal basis as a former member of the Free European Committee.

Henry Pleasants, Al Wells and I paid a visit to the Schatzkammer exhibition. This was the second time I had seen it, and I should like to visit it often again. Terry and Eddie Page gave a large reception this afternoon at their house. They are shortly to vacate

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it for less desirable quarters recently purchased by the United States Government. This is the last time they will entertain (which they always do admirably) in their present attractive surroundings. There were a great many delightful people there, representative of Munich's cosmopolitan life.

About 9 o'clock Mari a and Harry Schwartz, Henry Pleasants, Al Wells and I met for dinner at a famous Swiss restaurant in the city. We had a wonderful dish, Fondu Bourguignon. Along about midnight we adjourned to Henry Pleasant's apartment, where we drank all his Mosel and kept him up until nearly 4 o'clock.

Tuesday, October 21, 1958

The same people with whom I dined last night joined me this morning, and we left at 9 o'clock for Dinkelsbuhl. We got off at a station about 45 miles away, where Allen Moreland met us and drove us on through the rain to this picturesque city. I do not think it quite as beautiful as Rothenburg, but it is a close second and more unspoiled from a tourist standpoint. It seemed to have been little damaged by war. We drove another 25 miles to Anspach, where we regretfully parted with Allen and boarded the train. The sun came out at last, and the scenery along the Main River was heavenly.

We got back about 8 o'clock. I have never had a better two days.

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Wednesday, October 22, 1958

Ned Nordness brought in Harry Fite, whom I had known years ago when he was working on economics in connection with foreign aid. He is now in private business and expects to spend a couple of months at Duesseldorf with German clients.

I had a stag lunch at home today for Spencer Phenix and his fellow members of the Mixed Board. They are about to conclude their labors. They appeared to be of high caliber, and it was very enjoyable. The guests were: Dr. Emil Lersch, Mr. A. Michelson, Mr. Henri Eschbach, Dr. Gottfried Kuhnt, Prof. Dr. H. von Weber, and Dr. C. J. von Stralendorff.

German less on this afternoon.

I saw Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., a new officer in the Economic Section.

We are having a lot of personnel and budget difficulties. One of our employees, lately transferred to London, has arrived here and seems to be inclined to violence. We have been looking for a straight-jacket but have not been able to locate one.

Thursday, October 23, 1958

Eleanor Dulles came to see me this morning. She has just arrived from Berlin and is going home later this week. We had much talk about the hospital and the Berlin budget.

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Ambassador Sulaiman of Iraq came to say goodby. I have always found his conversation more varied and in some respects more interesting than that of almost any other colleague. His successor, Arif, continues shrouded in mystery. He is somewhere in Western Europe, and there are rumors in the newspapers he never intends to come here, but would like to go home and stage another revolution. Sulaiman said nothing about him to me. He himself has been offered the choice between his country's embassy in London or in Washington. He is returning shortly to Baghdad to make his decision, but he gave some indication he would like to stay at home rather than again go abroad.

Lunch at the office and German lesson.

I asked Sgt. Carson of the Marines to come and see me, and told him how genuinely sorry I was again this year to miss the annual Marine Ball, which takes place on November 10. This is the birthday of the Marine Corps and no deviation in date is permitted. Last celebration was said to have been spectacular, but as I can n my trip to America for this reason, there the matter rests.

Bill Stearman showed me [redacted] photographs of a new tr stream the Rod and Gun Club is thinking of leasing.

I talked to Rebecca Wellington about a rumor she was to be transferred fro ere because of such long service in the German area. She

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says as a Foreign Service Officer she wishes to express no preference to the Department, but would be delighted if she were to be kept on here for a while if I desired it.

We gave a dinner tonight for the following people: Ambassador of Sweden and Mrs. Jödahl, Dr. and Mrs. Herbert Dittmann (Deputy of State Secy. for Foreign Affairs), Dr. and Mrs. Gerd Tucerius (CDU-CSU Bundestag Deputy), Dr. and Mrs. Ferdinand von Bismarck-Osten (Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Baron and Baroness Homann von Herimberg (UN High Commission for Refugees), Brig. Gen. and Mrs. Steinbach, Mr. and Mrs. Max von Deichmann, Mr. and Mrs. Emlyn Williams, Mr. and Mrs. William Schott and Al Wells.

I had intended it to be in honor of George Allen, but as he arrived from London late in the evening this was not possible. He is staying with us.

The autumn seems really to have set in. There was no air traffic in Germany yesterday morning and today it was again foggy.

Friday, October 24, 1958

George Allen, Ned Nordness and I discussed USIS matters this morning. I laid particular emphasis on what seemed to me the importance of continuing American control over RIAS in Berlin.

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The new Minister of Haiti, Franck Beauvoir, came to call. He has never been in Europe before, and says he regrets the change from the "American climate". Since we have been shrouded in fog for a couple of days, I can see his point.

General D'Andrea, the new Argentine Ambassador, also came this morning to see me. He is a fine looking man, but seems somewhat worried by his lack of ready acquaintance with any language except Spanish.

I had a lunch for George Allen with the following guests: Mr. James Hoofnagle (of Allen's staff), Prof. Werner Richter, Dr. Werner Krueger, Dr. Axel Herbst, Dr. Werner Ahrens, Mr. Kurt Frey, Bill Trimble, Ned Nordness, Harry Schwartz and John McGowan.

George Woods, Chairman of the First of Boston Corporation, drove up from Frankfurt to see me this afternoon. He is particularly interested in what the effect of the coming into being of the Common Market will have on American investments in Europe. He had been in New Delhi at the time of the Bank and Fund meeting, and is now on his way home. He saw Blessing of the Central Bank this morning, and will meet Abs tomorrow morning to exchange views on future financing in Germany. He would like as a starter to have Abs join with him in underwriting a Japanese loan. I told him my theory about cross investments in Europe when the Common Market comes into being.

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Spaak arrived in Bonn today to see the Chancellor, and no doubt they will discuss the de Gaulle desire for a political triumvirate. This leaked to the German press yesterday. The reaction was highly unfavorable. The German press yesterday was also greatly concerned over the chilly reception accorded President Heuss in London and the bitterly anti-German comments in many English newspapers. The Royal Family received him in a cordial and flattering way, but otherwise his trip must have had many painful moments.

Another conversation with Eleanor Dulles about Berlin. Otherwise, political affairs as far as we are concerned continue quiet. The situation here reminds me of what I read many years ago about conditions in China during the last years of the Empress Dowager reign. Revolutionary fervor had been high in favor of overthrowing the dynasty, but traditions in support of it, while the old lady lived, were too strong to be overcome. As I recall it, there was a period of some years when by tacit consent there was almost a truce to violent political controversy while awaiting the death of the old Empress. Something of the same lull seems to have taken place here in regard to the Chancellor who, however, gives his opponents no special reason to hope, aside from his age, that he will pass away from the scene or become senile.

We took the train to Paris tonight.

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Saturday, October 25, 1958

I went to see Pernet this morning in Paris and bought a small Louis XVI table from him.

I lunched with Cecil Lyon and he gave me his views on the present political situation in France. He thinks the General is handling himself with great skill both in strictly domestic affairs as well as those pertaining to Algeria. Much depends, of course, on whether he will be able to work out over a period of time a satisfactory solution of the latter problem.

Cecil is very keen about his job and expresses himself as delighted to have given up his Embassy in Chile for it.

Amb Houghton has gone home for five weeks' leave.

E joined me after lunch, and we motored down to Jean Prouvost's place in Sologne. It is about 40 miles on from Orléans. We had not been there for several years, and it was pleasant to get into this fine shooting country again.

Prouvost had seen General deGaulle last week, and his reflections on what the General has accomplished and is trying to do were [redacted] along the lines of those discussed between Cecil and myself. He is satisfied that his advent to power saved France from a situation threatening anarchy. I told him how avidly I read every issue of Paris Match. He is thinking of expanding the distribution

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into Germany and having it reproduced in the German language. Axel Springer has approached him on this subject.

The others for dinner were the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, Jean Dom, Lulu and Geoffroy de Waldner, a [redacted] nice Colombian and his wife whose names escape me, Andre Dubonnet, Elizabeth Danet and her son, who is married to Dubonnet's daughter, Pierre Wertheim (the perfume king) and Philippe de Croisset. Windsor looked unchanged from when I had last seen him, and appeared to be in excellent spirits as did Wallis.

Almost everyone there was an old friend or at least an old acquaintance with the single exception of the Dubonnet family, and we had a delightful dinner.

Sunday, October 26, 1958

We started out to the fields about 10 o'clock and, as we drove along, saw quite a few pheasants on the side of the road. It was quite cold, windy and the sky overcast. There were three drives before lunch, the first a few hundred yards from the house, within sight of an oil derrick, a most unusual spectacle in Sologne, a territory famous for its lack of [redacted] resources. Drilling was commenced a few weeks ago, and most of t e landowners in the neighborhood, who under [redacted] French law would not derive any benefit if oil were discovered in the region, are hoping it will be a failure. As far as I could ascertain,

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French landowners have no vested right in subsoil minerals, although this hardly seems possible.

Before starting out, there had been many a gloomy remark about what a poor year this was for partridges and pheasants, owing to the heavy spring rains and other climatic aberrations. Ordinarily on this property about 2000 pheasants are killed a year and quite a large number of partridges. From my standpoint, I found the shooting excellent. We stopped a couple of hours for a hearty lunch, and then had two more drives in the afternoon. The total bag was in excess of 250 pieces of game, of which about 75 were partridges. There were a few hares and the rest were pheasants. It was a wonderful crowd to be with. They were all careful, considerate and sporting shots. Jean Dom, whom I like so much, stayed with me a while in my butt and told me stories about his family in Rumania. They have no chance whatever of getting out, but he has established a line of communication with them and is occasionally allowed to send them gift packages. Curiously enough, in the case of clothing, nothing is allowed in except badly used stuff.

A French shooting party of this kind is one of the most delightful occasions imaginable. Between drives, conversation is incessant and always of a spirited character. The sun came out in the afternoon and we had perfect weather for our drive to Orléans, where we took a train, arriving in Paris in time for a late dinner.

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The others remained in the country and some of them, whom I envy, will [redacted] again tomorrow.

Monday, October 27, 1958

Al Wells joined us this morning and we went out to Orly whence we flew to Wahn in absolutely clear weather. There was no remnant of the fogs which for several days had tied up all air traffic in Germany.

To the office where I found nothing disturbing to cope with.

Tuesday, October 28, 1958

Got up at 6 o'clock this morning. Kit Steel and I set out for Hoerstgen-Sevelen where Alfried Krupp von Bohlen-Halbach and Claus Ahlefeld met us. The five of us went shooting immediately. We had a series of drives, interspersed with considerable walking, during the day, with a welcome interlude for lunch. Lunch consisted of a magnificent German hunters' soup, composed of lentils and bits of sausage and partridge. It was [redacted] cheerful, set in a forest glade with a bright open fire blazing behind us. The day's proceedings were wonderfully well organized. We all shot rather badly, but at the end we had accumulated 110 pieces of game, about 75 of which were pheasants, 6 partridges, 4 ducks and the remainder hares. Two buglers furnished a pleasant accompaniment to our sport. They blew for us upon arrival, as well as to signal the beginning and

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end of each drive, [redacted] then outdid themselves with a series of snatches over each variety of game when it was all displayed at the termination of our activities.

Our German and Danish companions were [redacted] solicitous about giving Kit and myself the best opportunities for shooting and were a [redacted] sporting lot. We thoroughly enjoyed our congenial day afield.

We had a supper of cold meats and a variety of liquors in the little lodge near the railroad station.

Kit and I left shortly after six o'clock and arrived in Mehlem about nine.

On the train [redacted] ad an opportunity to talk at length about outstanding German problems as well as matters of mutual interest between the U. K. and U. S. Governments. He is concerned, as I am, over the four-power group - presumably at ambassadorial level - proposed to meet the demands of the Bundestag resolution on the subject of discussing German reunification, a peace treaty and so forth. This is still being handled in the three Western embassies by our political officers. We have objected to some of the language employed in the German Foreign Office draft for inclusion in its note of response to the Soviet Government. The Chancellor does not appear to have participated as yet in the consideration of this affair.

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Wednesday, October 29, 1958

We lunched with Sonia and James Marjoribanks of the British Embassy. He told a marvelous story about a pet rabbit they took from Peking to England. Smuggled in a picnic basket through all the countries they traversed, the white rabbit, almost the size of a hare, was [redacted] gentle to his master and mistress, but quite savage in his role as watchdog when strangers became involved, and really ferocious in repelling attacks on him by dogs and cats. He finally died at the age of 10 as a result of damaging his spine when leashed to a wheelbarrow in an English garden.

The Marjoribanks have had an interesting diplomatic career. He was Consul in Jacksonville, Florida, served in Peking, Hankow and Rumania (immediately after the end of the war), and in other hot spots at hot times.

Some time ago I asked Bob Loupe to keep a record of congressional correspondence handled by the Embassy and constituent posts in Germany. So far it is rather fragmentary, but as of October 1 we should be able to set down accurate figures. From the beginning of January 1958 through September 30, 1958, we have handled a total of 1771 congressional inquiries. This does not take into account a large number of congressional visitors and an enormous number of their friends sent to us under their sponsorship.

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Thursday, October 30, 1958

I talked to Bill Tyler about the European Economic Officers' Meeting in Berlin under Douglas Dillons' chairmanship. He said it had been very useful and the reports from behind the Iron Curtain of special value.

German lesson.

I sat for a couple of hours with the political officers at their meeting this afternoon. They gave excellent reports of conditions in the various consular districts and Berlin.

Henrik de Kauffmann arrived this afternoon to stay with us. He has just retired after having been chief of the Danish diplomatic mission in Washington for 20 years. He is still one of the best looking men I know.

I had a stag dinner at the house tonight for Professor Arnold Toynbee, who is staying with Dr. Meyers. The guests were, in addition to Toynbee and Meyers: Ned Nordness, Bill Tyler, Henrik de Kauffmann and Henry Pleasants., Dr. Toynbee was in fine form, as were the others, and it was the best conversation I have listened to for many months. His knowledge is by no means confined to serious subjects, and his memory is phenomenal. He is said to be egotistical and difficult, but certainly displayed no trace of either defect this evening. The Pichon Longueville (Lalande) 1921 was superb.

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I wrote the following letter to Julius Klein about German assets, in response to a ten-page missive from him:

"PERSONAL-CONFIDENTIAL October 30, 1958

Dear Julius:

I was very glad to receive your letter of October 22, 1958 and the interesting enclosures from Hermann Abs and Dr. Wohlthat.

I have already reported to Washington on the unhappy atmosphere in Germany over the status of the assets problem, without any mention whatever of yourself, Abs, Pferdmenges and others most familiar with this subject. For your information, when Douglas Dillon stopped here on his way from Geneva to Berlin, van Scherpenberg had a talk with him at my house about this matter.

My impression is that the Department of State would like nothing better than to achieve the earliest possible disposition of this subject. I feel certain this is the attitude of the Secretary, Dillon, and all the others who have been dealing with it. I do hope something may be effected at the next session of Congress.

I expect to be home before the end of the year for consultation and will repeat my views in those circles where it might be helpful, as to the desirability of bringing this to a quick conclusion. As I have said previously, and as I think you, Mr. Abs and the others thoroughly understand, it is not for me to suggest any solution in detail.

I shall regard your correspondence as entirely confidential, will give it no circulation and make no reference to it.

With best regards to your wife and yourself, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

David Bruce"

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Friday, October 31, 1958

Denny Flinn, Bill Tyler and Rebecca Wellington met with me to talk over the difficulties being encountered by our military mission at Potsdam. The British, French and American Army Commanders are in accord on what measures should be taken to try to bring to an end Soviet harassments directed against our personnel.

I went to see the Chancellor at noon and had a long talk with him and von Brentano. I sent off the following telegram on the subject: (Pages 41 and 42 following)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM — AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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31 AMB DCM VD-ED

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POUCH: CAFKFT 2 CAMUN 2

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798 — CONTROL NUMBER

4:30 PM

31 October 1958 — DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	(ROUTINE)	923
RPT INFO:	AmEmbassy PARIS	(ROUTINE)	248
	AmEmbassy LONDON	(ROUTINE)	166
	AmEmbassy ROME	(ROUTINE)	40

Paris Embtel to Dept 1579, rptd Bonn 120, London 278, Rome 136.

Saw Chancellor and Fon Min together this morning. Chancellor read me transcript his conversation with Jone. Paris Embtel 1579 admirably summarized interchange views.

Adenauer told Jone FedRep foreign policy was necessarily and deliberately based on American foreign policy. Maintenance of American interest and troops in Europe of overwhelming importance. Loss of either would be fatal to Europe whose own power position relatively feeble as compared with that of two giants. He believes Jone personally sympathetic to such reasoning, and embarrassed by fact that General still living in past and unrealistic about world changes since he previously held office.

Adenauer believes he can personally be useful in trying to find a way out (Ausweg) for General in unfortunate position he has placed himself. Thinks de Gaulle already must have been discouraged by adverse reaction outside France to idea political triumvirate. However, believes rejection can be softened by exercise of tact, and by expressing willingness for

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(Jul 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

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CONTROL NUMBER

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DATE

~~for~~ bilateral talks outside NATO on any matters of joint concern, which has always been normal diplomatic procedure.

As to any reorganization of NATO or expansion its jurisdiction, General is free to put forward his plans in Council where they would be given courteous and careful consideration.

Ademauer seems to have forgotten indignation attributed to him because reflections embodied General's letters Pres Eisenhower and Macmillan had not been discussed with him during Colombey meeting. He is evidently pleased with Joxe visit, and also call on him this morning by Ambassador Seydoux bearing friendly message from de Gaulle. He expects see Seydoux again in few days and through him to maintain frequent contact with General. In fact, Chancellor seems in benevolent mood toward de Gaulle, whom he regards as a wayward Western sheep who can be enticed back into fold.

He is not equally well disposed toward Marshal Montgomery who was characterized to him by an English friend as the "stupidest man in the United Kingdom on political subjects". He regards Montgomery's suggestion of a French Commander in Chief at SHAPE as entirely unacceptable and ridiculous.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

Paris 120 Oct 29 SECRET CN 427

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Lunched in the office and had a German lesson.

Clem Brown of Olin Mathieson International Corporation, an old friend of mine, came to see me. His company, with British, French, Swiss and perhaps other interests, developed some time ago a project to invest in excess of one hundred million dollars for the development of bauxite and alumina in French Guinea. When that country voted a short time ago in favor of independence from France, the German participants, from whom 5 or 6 million dollars had been expected, developed cold feet and dropped out of the picture. Clem is [redacted] happy in his work, although he said it was a wrench to leave Pan American Airways after such a long union.

Bill Tyler brought Robbins Gilman, recently assigned here from Switzerland, to meet me.

Tonight the Trimbles and Henrik de Kauffmann dined with us. The children went off to a Halloween party. David [redacted] borrowed my clothes to dress as a tramp. I imagine if I ever am able to wear them again I will look more the part than [redacted] he.

Saturday, November 1, 1958

Met Trimble and Tyler at the office to consider the following message from the Secretary. (Pages 44 and 45 following.)

I replied as indicated in Embtel 936 (page 46.).

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INCOMING TELEGRAM AMEMBASSY, BONN

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Exhibit 936

FROM: DEPARTMENT

NUMBER: PRIORITY 901 OCT. 31 9PM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE

NOVEMBER 1
5:25 AM

EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY.

IF YOU SEE NO OBJECTION AND IF YOU THINK MATTER CAN BE HANDLED IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHANCELLOR FROM ME:

QTE MY DEAR FRIEND:

THIS SUPPLEMENTS MY LETTER TO YOU OF OCTOBER 20TH. WE CONTINUE TO BE PERPLEXED ABOUT THE DE GAULLE PROPOSAL. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS JUST LEFT ME AND HAS PRESENTED THE MATTER SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY THAN HERETOFORE. HE NOW SUGGESTS THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL REALLY DOES NOT RELATE TO NATO AT ALL, BUT IS DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US, UK AND FRANCE AS REGARDS WORLD POLITICS AND MILITARY PLANS IN NON-NATO AREAS SUCH AS AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE FAR EAST.

THE FRENCH SAY THAT IF THERE WERE A MAJOR WAR ANYWHERE, THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE INVOLVED. BUT, OF COURSE, THE SAME APPLIES EQUALLY TO MANY OTHER COUNTRIES AND IS NOT ITSELF A REASON FOR A SPECIAL POSITION BY THE FRENCH.
THEY ALSO SPEAK OF THEMSELVES AS A 'POTENTIAL' NUCLEAR POWER. HOWEVER, THE MERE FACT OF HAVING AN ISOLATED EXPLOSION IN THE SAHARA DESERT WILL NOT MAKE THEM A NUCLEAR POWER. THERE IS NO FREE WORLD NATION EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS THE RESOURCES TO BE A SIGNIFICANT NUCLEAR POWER IN RELATION TO THE USSR. THE FRENCH DO, OF COURSE, HAVE CONSIDERABLE INTERESTS IN AFRICA AND SOME IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST.

WE, OF COURSE, REALIZE THAT, AS I HAVE OFTEN PUT IT, US MILITARY POWER IS A KIND OF 'TRUST' FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE FREE WORLD.

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Form AE/GER-67a (Mar 58)

INCOMING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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IT IS NOTHING WHICH WE WANT TO USE FOR OUR OWN AGGRANDIZEMENT, BUT FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THEREFORE, WE ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE USE OF OUR POWER. WE ARE QUITE WILLING, ON THAT BASIS, TO DISCUSS WITH OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES, AND WITH COLLECTIVE DEFENSE GROUPINGS, SUCH AS NATO, THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES UPON WHICH WE STAND. WE HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, SEVERAL TIMES PRESENTED OUR FAR EASTERN POLICIES TO NATO, ALTHOUGH WE ARE THE ONLY FREE WORLD NATION THAT ACTUALLY HAS ANY LARGE AMOUNT OF POWER TO USE IN THAT AREA AND THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM THERE RESTS ONLY UPON US AND OUR ASIAN ALLIES. IF OUR PRACTICE OF ACCOUNTABILITY DOES NOT SEEM ADEQUATE, WE ARE QUITE PREPARED TO ENLARGE IT. WE HAVE NO POLICIES WHICH WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO DIVULGE AND EXPLAIN AND, INDEED, MODIFY IF THERE SEEMS TO BE GOOD REASON THEREFOR. I AM NOT CERTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESENT FRENCH THINKING IS ALONG SOUND LINES.

WE AND THE BRITISH SHALL PROBABLY SOON BE TALKING FURTHER HERE IN WASHINGTON WITH THE FRENCH - PERHAPS NEXT WEEK. I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THE PRESENT POSITON; AND THAT MY OWN IDEAS ARE NOT YET CRYSTALLIZED AND THAT I WOULD WELCOME ANY THOUGHTS OF YOURS. WITH BEST WISHES, I AM
FAITHFULLY YOURS, FOSTER DULLES UNQTE

DULLES

NOVEMBER 1
CN 18

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SRL No _____

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Form AE/GER-12
(Jul 3 57)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

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SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

04
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

NOVEMBER 1, 1950 12PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState, WASHDC NIACT 936

REF: Deptel 901, Oct 31

EYES ONLY SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR.

I suggest message reftel not be delivered Chancellor for following reasons:

1. Adenauer needs no reassurance beyond that contained your letter October 20 and your conversation with Grewe about our attitude De Gaulle proposals. As indicated Paris Embtel 1579 and Bonn Embtel 923, Oct 31, he is in relatively relaxed mood, and has stated unequivocally to French his determination to accord his views this subject with our policy.

2. Invitation to Chancellor to express his thoughts to you may stir him from his present tranquillity to no good purpose.

3. Believe keeping him abreast of developments in Washington (especially conversations with British and French Ambassadors) through Grewe and this Mission is at least for time being most desirable way deal with him.

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Henrik de Kauffmann left us this afternoon. He is [redacted] an unusually [redacted] attractive man. He talked a great deal of his long service in Peking during the late 20's. Like all who served in that particular period, he has a nostalgic feeling for China. He thinks the West should at the proper time woo the Chinese and try to split them away from the Soviet Union, ala Tito.

I talked to Cecil Lyon on the telephone yesterday about the history of the Paris Embassy and sent off the following letter to Glenn Wolfe on the subject. (Pages 48 and 49 following.)

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Bonn/Bad Godesberg, Germany

October 31, 1958

Dear Glenn:

Thanks for your letter of October 27, 1958.

When Doug Dillon was here I had no opportunity to discuss the book with him, so have no idea how he feels about it.

Since I last wrote to you, I have talked to Bill Tyler, who has just read the last chapters and who is to see Mr. Deutschman here next week. I went over with him some of the items in the narrative which I had cursorily examined a while ago.

I have come to the conclusion, after giving the matter considerable thought, that it would be a mistake to publish the chapters covering the period subsequent to the German occupation of Paris. It seems to me that any attempt to record the events since the last war in the field of French national interests and U. S. foreign policy, must inevitably result in a partial presentation of what actually happened. However much one may try to be objective, the issues involved are still toorecent, too complex, and too burning not to make any account of them a cause of resentment to a large number of active and sincere Frenchmen in public life today. In my opinion, the publication of such an account might cause a political storm to break over the Embassy in Paris, and the Department of State. I need not point out how regrettable it would be if these issues were exploited in the public press for domestic political ends. I think it impracticable to rewrite the chapters; this could, I believe, only be useful when the events described in them could be viewed in historical perspective.

Glenn G. Wolfe, Esquire,
American Embassy,
Paris.

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No matter how the book is presented, the French public generally speaking -- and the politicians in particular - will think it is sponsored by the U. S. Government.

I spoke about this to Cecil Lyon this morning on the telephone and suggested he pass on my views to you. However, since I am going to Washington next week, I thought I would also send you this letter.

With warm personal regards,

Ever yours,

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Sunday, November 2, 1958

A beautiful morning. Walked to the office with the children. Only routine messages had come in. However, there is one asking our recommendations as to what should be done in the Milroy case. This is difficult to answer. Milroy is supposedly locked up in some East German hoosegow. We have protested to the Soviets and demanded his release, to no avail. They made their stock answer that he had violated the regulations of a sovereign state, the GDR, and we should address our complaint to it. I shall discuss this tomorrow at the Commanders' Conference in Heidelberg.

Monday, November 3, 1958

Al Wells, Roy Lassetter and I went to Heidelberg this morning. I had a long talk alone with Hank Hodes. He told me a couple of excellent Texas stories, [redacted] then we dispatched our business as usual amicably and swiftly. [redacted]

Amongst other subjects, we dealt with the Milroy case. He feels, as I do, the futility of trying to get this American citizen sprung from confinement by protest to the Russians. The GDR officials will probably get bored with him and turn him loose if they are satisfied he is not a spy. I shall have some recommendations to make about this tomorrow.

After the Commanders' lunch, I delivered a short summary about

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outstanding political questions to a couple of hundred of the officers. I commented more or less as follows:

"FAR EAST. Situation Taiwan Straits unchanged. In spite of turbulent seas, supply of Quemoy presently assured. Would seem Chinese Communists hope to divide Nationalists from Americans, create division and ultimately rebellion in Formosa. Warsaw talks have thus far made no progress.

"MIDDLE EAST. Completion withdrawal British and American troops. Danger of coups d'etat persists. Would not want to insure King Hussein's life. If trouble in Jordan, Israelis would probably occupy up to West bank river. Oil rich countries are showing no disposition to join United Arab Republic. In some respects, because of proximity to Jordania, position of Iran vulnerable to threat and attack.

"EUROPE. NATO Council has failed in its attempt to solve Cyprus question, which will next be discussed in UN.

De Gaulle has handled himself with great skill, but big test is still ahead in Algeria. Muslim candidates, through fear of reprisals, have not yet presented themselves for election to French Parliament.

"GERMANY. Political agitation over two points:

1. Bundestag resolution calling for 4-Power meeting for discussion reunification and a peace treaty. Many fear this will result in an interminable propaganda debate.

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2. Letters of de Gaulle to President Eisenhower and Macmillan:

a. Advocating reorganization of NATO (Montgomery re French Commander in Chief).

b. Political triumvirate. France to speak for Europe. (Potential nuclear power.)

"GENEVA TALKS ON NUCLEAR TESTS. May throw new light on Soviet intentions."

On the way back from Heidelberg the Flinns accompanied us, as well as the Morelands and the Blanckes.

Tuesday, November 4, 1958

Our conference of Principal Officers commenced this morning with the following in attendance: Edward Page, Jr., Raymond Ludden, Edward Maney, Wendell Blancke, Allan Moreland, Harrison Lewis, Dennis Flinn and Findley Burns.

During an interval Tyler, Wellington, [redacted] Findley Burns and I went over a response to an inquiry from the Department asking for recommendations in the Milroy case. We all leaned to the side of doing nothing except the possible employment by his family of a Berlin lawyer to take the matter up with the GDR authorities. Yesterday a note from the GDR Foreign Office was left by an anonymous messenger at our Consulate in Berlin, asking for a "consular

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plenipotentiary" to meet a GDR official to talk about Milroy. The Department had issued on April 24, 1958, a statement to this effect: U. S. citizens traveling in Soviet Zone on basis GDR visas are now warned, if they consult any U. S. authority, that "they are assuming risk which inevitably attends travel in an area where normal diplomatic or consular assistance is not available." (Dept's CA-9295, April 24, 1958.)

This afternoon we resumed the Principal Officers' meeting and there was [redacted] a discussion over the virtues of maintaining or eliminating Fourth of July receptions at foreign posts. In spite of arguments to the contrary, I am generally in favor of abandoning the celebrations until such time as Congress may make adequate financial provision for holding them. It is all very well to tell members of the Foreign Service they should confine themselves to serving soft drinks, hot dogs and hamburgers, but it places them in an ambiguous position compared with the receptions given by their colleagues of even the smallest countries on the occasion of their own national days when champagne and fancy confectionery are offered. It is the consular officers who are hit hardest by this sort of entertainment.

E and I went to the Mass in celebration of the coming into office of the new Pope, and later to a reception at the Papal Nuncio's. The service in honor of the enthronement of Pope John XXIII was magnificent, especially because of the wonderful robes of the officiating

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priests and the excellence of the choir which came from Aachen. The choristers sang Verdi's "Te Deum" with great spirit. Altogether, it was an impressive ceremony with the single exception of a speech delivered by a long-winded professor on portions of the history of the papacy. He made some interesting points, but it took him a long time to do so.

Wednesday, November 5, 1958

Walden Moore, Director of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity Project, spent a half hour with me talking about their plans. This is the organization cherished by Adolph Schmitt.

Canadian Ambassador Reid called on me. His Prime Minister, Diefenbaker, is coming to Bonn later in the week and Reid wanted to have me give my impressions of the present state of the relationship between the Federal Republic and the French Government. I said I thought, when the leak first appeared about de Gaulle's messages to Macmillan and Eisenhower, the Chancellor felt betrayed because he had not been told of this memorandum at Colombey. However, my impression was he had largely recovered from the shock and was pursuing as steadily as ever his aim of Franco-German rapprochement. Moreover, de Gaulle had sent him private messages and he had been gratified by his meeting with Joxe.

The two Grusons of the New York Times visited me. I told

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them there was no truth whatever in the story that I had intervened on behalf of our Government in connection with the preparation of a note demanded by the Bundestag for a four-power conference on the German problem. This I repeated later in the afternoon to Gaston Coblentz who came on a similar errand.

Gaston has been away from Bonn most of the last two months, first on leave in the United States and then to witness the ceremonies attendant upon the death of the late Pope and the enthronement of his successor. He said that in all his years of newspaper work he had never seen a series of spectacles as well mounted and so moving.

Stevie has now been here for several days, and everything connected with the children is as a result gay and slapdash.

The news of the elections came through today. They report a vast sweep for the Democratic Party with the one exception of New York State, where Nelson Rockefeller and Ken Keating were elected Governor and Senator respectively. Averell was defeated by more than half a million votes. I am sorry for this, for it will be a bitter blow to him. Rockefeller staged a spectacular campaign. I have been after Averell for years to write his memoirs, and perhaps he will now do so. From 1940 to 1952 he participated in the making of almost all our serious foreign policy decisions and has in my opinion great wisdom in that field.

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I called on the Papal Nuncio this afternoon. I have a strong liking for him. He instructed me in some of the organizational mysteries of the Order of Jesuits, and we talked about certain of its famous characters. Organizationally, it has no different relationship with the Vatican than that enjoyed by the other Orders.

The Nuncio has never met the new Pope. I said how much I had been struck, during my acquaintance with him in Paris, by the combination of liveliness and equanimity habitual to him. I did not realize the strictness of the rules applicable to the selection of a new Pope. Any Cardinal who later breathes a word of what transpired in the Conclave is subject to excommunication. As a result, the world never knows what internal jockeying has taken place.

Our new Iraqi Ambassador to Bonn, Arif, has never arrived here. He has just turned up in Baghdad, without giving any prior notice, and has been arrested.

Thursday, November 6, 1958

Ides Vandergracht told me arrangements had successfully terminated in Berlin for the purchase of the L-shaped property to form part of our Embassy tract. There is still a small piece we wish to acquire held up by court litigation.

Herb Altschull called on me, and we talked of pressures in Germany for a four-power conference.

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I had lunch at home for Henry Ford II, John S. Andrews (his German representative) and Al Wells. Ford strikes me as able and well balanced. He thinks depreciation of the purchasing power of the dollar will continue at home, largely because of the attitude of Walter Reuther.

I saw Bill Tyler and Rebecca Wellington and sent off another telegram about the Milroy case.

Edmund Faltermayer of the Wall Street Journal came to call on me. He inquired into Minister Erhard's economic theories. I told him I thought Erhard's views on the meaning of free enterprise were such that he must consider the Wall Street Journal rather a socialistic publication.

E and I left tonight from Duesseldorf at 9:30 by Lufthansa for the United States.

Friday, November 7, 1958

We arrived at Idlewild in our luxurious Lufthansa plane on time, and had the good fortune to make an immediate connection for Washington. The weather was crisp and sunny, a welcome change from Rhineland mist and fog.

I went to the Department, and spent the afternoon talking to Martin Hillenbrand, Gerry Smith, Foy Kohler and others.

Polly Wisner, Pinky Thompson, Jane Joyce and Joe Alsop stopped in at the Georgetown house for drinks. Joe is leaving

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tomorrow for the Middle East.

We compensated for the six hour difference in time between Bonn and Washington with a long sleep.

Saturday, November 8, 1958

To the Department in the morning, to discuss Khrushchev's ominous declaration of his intention to turn over all Soviet responsibilities in Berlin to the GDR. The papers are very excited about it, as is the West German, and especially the Berlin, population. We must be entirely calm about this, and make plans for such an eventuality, but suppress as far as possible all panicky reaction.

E and I lunched with Ethel Fowler, and went to Kay Halle's in the afternoon, where there was much talk of the International Horse Race scheduled for next Tuesday at Laurel, in which two Soviet state-owned horses are entered. On form their chances do not seem very good.

Sunday, November 9, 1958

Truman kindly drove us over for lunch at Belmont with Mary and Howard Bruce, a fifty minute trip. Howard, at seventy-nine, appears almost as vigorous as ever. Mary broke her hip a short time ago by stumbling in the dark over her sleeping dog, and is on crutches. The place looked heavenly, a 1000 acre retreat surrounded by residential development and a state park.

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We went to the Bob Blisses for tea, and saw there the Sinclair Weeks (he has resigned as Secretary of Commerce), Admiral and Mrs. Radford, Admiral and Mrs. Carney, and Virginia Bacon.

Tonight we dined at Polly Wisner's with Kay and Phil Graham, always a perfect combination.

Monday, November 10, 1958

To Dr. Chase's to be debriefed of tartar, never a pleasant process. But nothing else was wrong. Talked to Loy Henderson about personnel. Bill Trimble has been definitely selected as Ambassador to Cambodia, and we must decide shortly on his replacement. I am delighted for Bill, but will sorely miss his ability.

I lunched with Paul Mellon at the 1925 F St. Club. We talked of his charitable projects, but also of lighter subjects.

I saw Chris Herter this afternoon. He is using a new drug for arthritis, and it has given him at least temporary relief. I rode out to the airport with Bob Murphy. He was on his way to Milwaukee to deliver a speech. We had a useful conversation on German matters.

Dined with Ethel Fowler and a galaxy of dames: Alice Longworth, Lorraine Cooper, Grace Philipps and I. Lots of fun, Alice brilliant and entertaining as ever.

Tuesday, November 11, 1958

Armistice (now called Veterans) Day. Also Audrey's birthday,

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and I sent her a telegram. Back to the dentist to heal yesterday's damage. I met Jim and Ellen Bruce, with the Bobbie Lehmans, on the street. They were setting out for the Laurel race; it ended with the two Russian horses running sixth and last.

To the Department. Lunch at Pinky Thompson's with a merry crowd. Went to see Allen Dulles this afternoon, and later to the Bob Joyces' where I talked with Gene Black.

Wednesday, November 12, 1958

Went over early to the Johns Hopkins Hospital for a physical check-up, the first I've had since Army days. I was pummeled, probed, interrogated, subjected to various indignities, and given a completely clean bill of health. I hope the squad of doctors who worked me over were correct.

Returned tonight to Washington.

Thursday, November 13, 1958

Saw Loy Henderson, Hillenbrand, etc. Had an official photograph taken to replace the 1952 one. Lunched with Dave Lellerbach at the Hay-Adams, after a drink there with Wallie Carroll and Jake Beam. Had a chat with Dean Acheson and Henry Brandon of the London Times.

Bob Bowie, here for a short stay, came to see me this afternoon, and I enjoyed his philosophical, but at the same time practical,

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views on German problems.

Next was Jake Beam. He believes it would be helpful if the Federal Republic would accord diplomatic recognition to Poland. He thinks the Poles would not accept merely a souped-up trade mission, a device favored by many Germans. He says there is a genuine fear in Poland of the Bundeswehr, particularly centered on the possibility of nuclear capabilities being entrusted to its own custody. This is a matter I must inquire into at once, for my understanding was that Adenauer desired them to remain under American control, as does the State Department. Jake considers a public statement on this subject, at an appropriate time, might alleviate the present tension in Poland and, to some extent, diminish hatred and fear of the Germans.

E and I went to see Alice and Dean Acheson this evening. Dean was content with his resounding success at Cambridge University, England, where he spent part of the summer delivering lectures and conducting seminars. He was in great and authoritative form.

Leaving E, I dined at the Allen Dulles', with Duncan and Mrs. Phillips, Freddy King (who is one of the architects for CIA's mammoth new building), Faith Ackermann, and the much travelled widow of an American admiral. It was a stimulating evening.

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Friday, November 14, 1958

At 10 a.m. I went to CIA, and for an hour discoursed to, and answered questions on German affairs from, a group of its keen members. Repeated the performance at State to the GER staff.

Lunched at the French Embassy with the Alphands, Betty de Lesseps, John Pell, Helen Coolidge, and one of the Embassy staff. Herve's new wife, Nicole, [redacted] pretty and agreeable; Betty beautiful as ever.

Back to the Department to see Foster, who arrived this morning from Seattle. We plunged into the Berlin imbroglio. His elephantine memory was brought to bear on precedents, expedients, possible policies, plans, and the rest. There is something [redacted] formidable about his ability to focus his thought completely on any subject, then to eliminate it from his attention, and transfer with utmost ease to another preoccupation. He asked me if I had any personal matters to bring up - I answered I had previously told him I would not talk about the length of my stay in Germany until I had been there for two years.

Dined tonight with Kay Halle. A mixed bag of agreeable guests, including Gloria Etting.

Saturday, November 15, 1958

To the Department for talk about the Berlin situation. We

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await Mr. Khrushchev's proposal. I lunched at the Bob Joyces', with the Alphands, Jane McBaine, Mimi Hyde and others. Mimi was [redacted] beautiful, and I had news of her two daughters, my quasi-wards, for whom E and I would have responsibility if their parents should die. She said her father-in-law James Hazen Hyde, now 83, was almost totally blind. Perhaps he can console himself, as Addison Mizner tried to do for his brother with a telegram, upon hearing the latter had lost his vision: "What do you care, you've seen everything."

I was to see Ambassador Grewe this afternoon, but his plane was delayed by bad weather, and we had to call off the meeting. E and I went to the Garretts, found them [redacted]ming, and I departed with a gift of George's famous Irish whisky.

We dined with Sue and Eugene Black. He is by far the most no[redacted]d of banker Shakespearean scholars. Had a fine time.

Mimi and Henry Hyde came [redacted] for a drink with us in the late afternoon. He was original and amusing - there's nobody like him.

Sunday, November 16, 1958

The Mellons sent a car in for us, and we sped down to Upperville for lunch. It was misty, but the country sympathetic. [redacted] genial day. Paul told me how he [redacted]-acquired the famous

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Cezanne recently for in excess of $600,000. Everything went wrong about the arrangements to keep the identity of the purchaser anonymous. He is not pleased with the publicity.

Spent an hour with Grewe at the German Embassy. Speculated over Soviet intentions re Berlin and Germany, and he told me of his concern over getting a speedy disposition of the war assets question.

We dined with Sammy Hood, his brother and sister-in-law, the Hydes, the Joyces and Polly Wisner. Good time.

Monday, November 17, 1958

Raining this morning. E went to Baltimore to see Dr. Loy Martin, and I to a meeting in the Secretary's office over access to Berlin. Generals Hodes and Norstad wish to send a convoy through the day after tomorrow, and have it proceed by force if necessary, to compensate for the arrestation during 8 hours of a U. S. convoy on Nov. 14. They have asked for Joint Chiefs approval, and State has been consulted. I am against this tactic as being the wrong thing at the wrong time.

At 10:45 I called on the President. He was warm and friendly, and talked mostly of his desire and obligation to defend the purchasing power of the dollar. He will have an even harder time than usual with the next Congress - there are many newly-elected legislators who made wild campaign promises about dipping in the public till.

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The President looked in splendid health.

We lunched with the Phil Grahams at the Washington Post Office. It was a delectable interlude. At two I was back in Foster's office with more argument over Berlin.

Visited Loy Henderson to sew up some personnel strands. Same with Bill Blue and his group who want to take away my private train, paid for out of occupation costs. I made an animated defense of the diesel.

Bill Blark, Foreign Director of USIS, accompanied by six associates, broke over me in conversational waves.

Rode home to Georgetown with Bob Thayer and dined at Polly Wisner's. Wrote last night to Frank Wisner, Bill Trimble (about his ambassadorship) and to Averell Harriman (on the advisability of his writing his memoirs).

Tuesday, November 18, 1958

At the Department. Lunch with Margaret and John Walker and talk of art. Fine bottle of white Chateau Haut Brion. Took the Congressional to New York, sighing for the defunct Baltimore and Ohio passenger service. We are staying with the Alfred Jaretskis on 74th Street. Dined at the Lowmans' with the Jaretskis and E, who had preceded me to New York. Wonderful time. Larry gave

me a CBS transistor.

Wednesday, November 19, 1958

To 713 Park Avenue to see George White. Met Dr. Parran, formerly Surgeon-General, now President of Avalon Foundation. Made a gift to Avalon, the second this year.

Lunched with Ailsa at her apartment, surrounded by Eddy Molyneux's pictures. Audrey came in at three with the two children, Andrea and Lavinia. They are [redacted] sweet.

I met George Wyckoff at the Links Club, and we discussed business affairs. I dined with Vadim Makaroff at 21 West 52nd. It was more crowded than ever, but the food as superlative as the prices. We each had a cocktail, smoked salmon, steak, salad and coffee, to the tune of $40. This restaurant, like many others, must live on expense accounts. We went back to Vadim's apartment and talked to Lysette until 2 a.m.

Thursday, November 20, 1958

Dropped in to see Klejman, and dropped out clasping an Augsburg silver-gilt 18th Century cup. I strolled down Park Avenue in the bright sunshine, bought a wedding present for Murray Fisher's daughter, and met Buck Crawford for lunch at The Brook. Told him I thought the stock market crazily high, and suggested he make some sales in E's and the children's accounts. Also, I liquidated the

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holdings I had bought as trustee for the Cooper children. I hear and think so little about securities that I distrust my own judgment concerning them.

Picked E up at 74th Street, said goodby to Priscilla and Barry, and we went in Bunny Mellon's car to Idlewild. Our Swiss Air plane left at 3:30. Everything was spic and span. Instead of a boring warmed-over steak dinner, we had a toothsome pilaff of lamb, and were in bed by nine o'clock.

Friday, November 21, 1958

Non-stop eleven hour flight to Wahn airport, where we arrived three minutes earlier than had been anticipated when we left New York.

To the office. Stack of correspondence and cables looked like a small mountain. I had little time for them, as every one wanted to talk about the Berlin situation.

Called on von Brentano at 5:30 and sent the following telegram: (pages 68 through 72 following).

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FORM AID/SER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

133 21 NOV 58

-68-

CHARGE TO

16 EEP-ED
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562
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

21 NOV 58 10 PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState	WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1094
RPT INFO: AmEmbassy	LONDON	ROUTINE	199
AmEmbassy	PARIS	ROUTINE	302
AmEmbassy	ROME	ROUTINE	45
AmEmbassy	MOSCOW	ROUTINE	115
USMission	BERLIN	ROUTINE	299
USAREUR		ROUTINE	237
USCINCEUR		ROUTINE	81

Since Chancellor away Nov 3-8 today Tyler and I saw von Brentano this afternoon, and asked h[illegible] for his views Berlin. He gave me account Smirnov talk with Chancellor which already reported (Embtel 1080). He emphasized that Smirnov had not repeat not referred to transfer power to GDR or to what measures would be taken with regard Berlin, but that he had said "occupation statute" would be abolished.

Von Brentano then expressed himself in vein utmost seriousness about possible future developments. He said present situation could not be compared with 1948 as this time there would be no repeat no open blockade. After Soviet Union had denounced Four Power Agreements on Berlin and had declared GDR sovereign, latter would proceed with great

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM: AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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CHARGE TO

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562 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

- 3 -

DATE

received this paper which is being studied, that we had not repeat not passed on it, and that I personally had grave doubts that we would subscribe to it, although I had as yet received no repeat no instructions on the subject. I also said that we had not repeat not been consulted on its preparation.

Brentano said he was leaving immediately after our talk for Berlin and would see Brandt, Amrehn, and Senat. He would be back Monday and would meet Tuesday with German Ambassadors from Paris, Washington, Rome, Moscow and London, who have been called to Bonn.

He said Chancellor had yesterday sent off letter to Secretary expressing his concern, and would like see me soon. He said Chancellor is returning tomorrow night from Munich and I plan see him Sunday if possible.

Brentano said he thought that after Soviet Union had issued statement, which was probably imminent, might be good idea hold conference between Three Western governments and FedRep. Whatever course was taken, he added, should be taken in complete unity.

Brentano said FonMin Couve de Murville had himself suggested that Berlin be on agenda de Gaulle talk with Chancellor next Wednesday.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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- 4 -

I asked Brentano what approach he personally thought might be taken on assumption Soviet statement would denounce Four Power status. Brentano stressed we should above all absolutely reject any such statement, on grounds no repeat no State has right withdraw from commitment and hand over its responsibilities to another party. Said would be as though FedRep were to withdraw from NATO and name Austria as its substitute. He thought this approach might have some effect Soviet Union which had shown itself sensitive to charges breaking contractual obligations.

I asked Brentano his views with regard GDR checkpoint officials being considered agents of Soviets. He said this misleading because Soviets not repeat not ~~knowingly~~ handing over responsibilities to East German police but to Pankow. Said agent concept could only be sustained if East German officials acting on instructions from Soviet Union but this would not repeat not be in fact case, since they would be acting on instructions GDR. He said Pervukhin would not repeat not accept protest this basis and would simply refer us to Pankow.

I asked Brentano how he thought German political and public

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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CONTROL NUMBER

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PRECEDENCE

DATE

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opinion would react to firm Western measures which might be interpreted as possibly leading to war. He replied without hesitation that vast majority Germans consider Berlin test case, particularly after numerous repeated declarations which have led them expect strong reaction. Referred to Mayor Brandt's recent statements and to Gerstenmaier mention possibility breaking off relations with Moscow as evidence undoubted solid German support for firm reaction.

BRUCE

AUTH:AMB:LKEBruce
for M. Ambassador
William R. Tyler

1080 GN 505 Sec Nov 20

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Saturday, November 22, 1958

Wintry day. Visited Kit Steel to discuss Berlin. Hank Hodes and Denny Flinn flew up from Heidelberg to see me on the same subject, and we lunched together.

Ditto at the office this afternoon, until I called on the Chancellor at 5:30. Thereafter sent the following telegram: (see pages 74 and 75).

Bill Tyler and I had a late snack at the house.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

1958 22 NOV 5

CHARGE TO
16 EEP/EP

-74-

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575
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7 PM
22 November 1958
DATE

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SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1103
RPT INFO:	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	206
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	307
	AmEmbassy ROME	ROUTINE	46
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	119
	USMission BERLIN	ROUTINE	303
	USAREUR	ROUTINE	240
	USCINCEUR	ROUTINE	82

Embassy Paris PASS USCINCEUR THURSTON AND WEST

Saw Chancellor tonight upon his return from Munich. He was hoarse from oratorical efforts in Bavarian campaign but otherwise in fine health.

Said he considered Khrushchev a great actor who liked to create suspense and who may be in process of altering lines of original script. We must wait to know the contents of his proposed note before formulating any definite policies. Meanwhile, the most important things are for Western statesmen to preserve their calm and for American troops to remain in Berlin.

Berlin has never formed part of the Soviet Union and his legal advisers have been studying the implications of the relinquishment, if it takes place, by the Soviets of their responsibilities in that area. He will send me tomorrow a copy of their conclusions.

He does not think it would be useful now to speculate on hypotheses

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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CONTROL NUMBER

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connected with Berlin situation since the scale of possibilities is so vast.

As soon as a Soviet communication is received, urgent consultations must take place.

Referring to his conversation with Smirnow, he said it had been unpleasant and unproductive, especially since Ambassador was under evident surveillance of member his staff who noted down every utterance by Smirnow.

Adenauer meeting on Wednesday with General deGaulle was suggested by the latter.

He spoke briefly of his recent personal letters to Mes[illegible]s. Dulles, MacMillan and de Gaulle, about an intervention in Moscow, but felt such step ~~xhmxkt~~ might not be practicable, particularly because of time element involved.

I told him in general terms of our projected plans regarding surface access to Berlin in the event of a turn-over by the Soviets to DDR officials at checkpoints. He answered he had no comment to make on them ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ but might do so after we had examined Khrushchev's proposal.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

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Sunday, November 23, 1958

Got up at 5 a.m. and disposed of accumulated personal correspondence.

A telegram arrived from the De tment saying our Government wished to transmit a tripartite note to Moscow regarding Berlin and wanted Bonn to coordinate the text with the British and French. Steel had already been apprised of this through the British Foreign Office, and upon telephoning Cecil Lyon in Paris, I found that the Quai d'Orsay had been similarly alerted. The proposal was for the communication to be delivered in Moscow Monday.

By the end of the day, the British had agreed, provided certain minor changes were made in the suggested language. However, the French declared such action would be "premature". This opinion was delivered by Couve de Murville in the absence of Gen. de Gaulle, who apparently was unreachable since this is election day in France as it is in Germany, in Hesse and Bavaria. I saw Seydoux, who was unable to throw any light on the situation.

I telephoned Foy Kohler in Washington, saying I thought pressure should be brought at once to bear upon the French. The Secretary is at Duck Island, and I gathered from Kohler that our decision had been made by the President himself. Since the matter has not been firmed up, I have said nothing about it to the Germans. We continued to scurry around on the Berlin problem all day, and I sent off the following message to the Department (see pages 77 79 following.)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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CHARGE TO

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579
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25 November 1958 5 PM
DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1105
RPT INFO:	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	208
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	310
	AmEmbassy ROME	ROUTINE	97
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	121
	US MISSION BERLIN	ROUTINE	205
	USAREUR	ROUTINE	242
	USAFE	ROUTINE	222

PARIS PASS USRO, OECONCUR, Thurston and West.

Although Chancellor does not desire at this stage to speculate on hypotheses regarding Berlin, I believe German reaction to our acceptance GDR control at checkpoints would be we have started on soft policy almost inevitably leading to ultimate recognition GDR and quasi-permanent division of Germany. Am aware historical precedents de facto recognition of governments, of dealing with unrecognized governments on ad hoc basis, and other relationship variants. However, in this case, situation is so special that I feel if we adopted any such methods our prestige in Germany would be gravely, even fatally, undermined. I do not speak of the reactions to be anticipated elsewhere in Europe, though I surmise they would in long run be similar even if less violent.

Tripartite paper, although envisaging transfer to GDR of certain functions hitherto performed by Soviets, did not take inth account

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(Jul 57)

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possibility Soviets would renounce all ultimate responsibility. While mere transfer of functions could perhaps be accepted without destroying our position, it is different matter if Soviets challenge us by also renouncing ultimate responsibility. Best opportunity under such circumstances to takeeffective firm stand is at outset. If once we yield by establishing contact with GDR, even at checkpoint level, it will be difficult to build good case for more inflexible stand against further demands. Stage at which public support could be rallied is when Soviets announce as officially of disclaimer of responsibility, not after we have accepted technical control by GDR personnel and later make issue over whether we will accept visas, inspection, currency controls, etc.

I fully realize difficulty finding alternatives to present policy, particularly in light uncertainty over next Soviet move. Assuming, however, anticipated communication announces they transferring responsibilities to GDR and that it fixes an either immediate or future date for transfer, following suggestions are presented:

1. Immediate date. Military trains and autobahn travellers should be instructed turn back rather than accede to any form control by or dealings with GDR officials. Air Forces should be alerted provide military transport in event Soviet withdrawal from BASC or other action makes commercial flights questionable. Notes should be sent Soviets stating Three Powers refuse accept unilateral renunciation commitments.

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2. Future date. Notes should be sent Soviets and instructions about access Berlin (as in above paragraph) given in advance to become effective on transfer date.

In addition [redacted], there might, depending upon nature Soviet communication to us, be advantage in demanding immediate Four-Power meeting to discuss situation.

Obviously, any course of action designed to maintain freedom of Berlin will finally depend upon our determination, if necessary, to use force.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

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Tonight the Marques and Marquesa Torresoto, the Schwartzes, and the Ed Hughes[1] dined with us. Bill Tyler had fallen ill; consequently Betsy and he could not come. We had a delightful evening. The Spanish couple are the parents of Maria Schwartz, and the old gentleman, who is almost 80, is one of the most engaging men I have met for a long time. He eats and drinks like a trooper and is a mine of information about wine. His family has owned the famous Gonzales sherry business for generations. It must be an enormous family connection, for Maria has in excess of 80 first cousins.

Monday, November 24, 1958

The French stand remains unchanged, so the Department has telegraphed, saying we may go ahead despite their refusal to join us in sending a note to Moscow. I went to see Leduc at the French Embassy (Seydoux being temporarily absent from it) to tell him, as I had been instructed to do, of such a possibility. Since the British had, through Macmillan and without consultation with either the French or ourselves, sent a message to Khrushchev on Saturday, the French are particularly tender about unilateral actions.

I called Foy Kohler at 9 a.m. Washington time to ascertain if there were anything new in the situation. He replied they were still pressing the French and hoped to have a final answer from Paris today.

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John Bross came up from Frankfurt this morning to see me about some of his affairs. The Frankfurt city government has been circulating a rather scurrilous and [redacted] misleading pamphlet in connection with the atom death campaign. It accuses the Americans of having wantonly dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and since then pursuing a line of action dangerous to the survival of the human race, and a lot of similar propaganda. Since distribution has been given to this production by the city authorities at the expense of Frankfurt taxpayers, Bross thinks we ought to make some sort of official reply, pointing out the inaccuracies in the document and condemning it. We shall consider how best its influence can be countered.

I met for the first time today Col. Freund, Chief of the Civil Affairs Division at USAREUR. He is replacing the late Col. Schmidt. A graduate of the Naval Academy, he has for some time been particularly interested in missiles and electronics. Because of his background, both in the Navy and Army, I think he should be particularly useful.

Tonight Foy Kohler called me from Washington to say our Government had decided to shift from the idea of sending a tripartite note to the Soviets and instead to dispatch it to the Federal Republic. It was hoped to bring the French around to an acceptance of this approach, and I would receive word during the night as to what should be done here.

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Tuesday, November 25, 1958

I received a telegram this morning instructing me to go ahead and notify the Germans of a Three Power note to their government. As I dug deeper into the pile of telegrams, I found these orders had been cancelled, since the French had definitely refused to go along with us and the British. Accordingly, I called on von Brentano, who had van Scherpenberg with him, and told him of these recent developments, most of which he already knew of through Ambassador Grewe who has just arrived from Washington. I had been instructed to tell the Foreign Minister of our intention to proceed providing the Soviets did not meanwhile intervene with a message of their own, in case at tomorrow's meeting between Adenauer and deGaulle, the French should be brought around to accept our proposition.

I had a lunch for a member of the Joint Economic Committee, Representative Clarence Kilburn (R-NY) and his wife. The other guests were Dr. Roderick Riley, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Ture and Mr. James Knowles (Staff Members), and Mr. and Mrs. Weir Brown. Kilburn is from New York State, up near the Canadian border, and has been in the House of Representatives for many years. I liked him, [redacted] as I did his wife. She said their home was four hundred miles from New York City and they had visited the metropolis a short time ago for the first time in ten years. They felt they had

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not missed much by disregarding it during the interval.

John Haskell, who is staying with us, met me at the office and with General Steinbach we talked about German rearmament. Paulette fell ill on the trip here, was operated on in a hospital near Trier, and will have to remain there a week or longer.

Late this afternoon I had some of our newspaper correspondents at the house and gave them a background briefing (with drinks) on the Berlin situation. Those attending were:

George Boultwood	AP
Arthur Olsen	NY Times
Morrie Helitzer	McGraw Hill
Edward Hughes	Time-Life
David Nichol	Chicago Daily News
Emlyn Williams	Christian Science Monitor

Ned Nordness, Bill Bell and Bill Stearman of the Embassy staff.

We have been discussing today amongst ourselves the possibilities springing out of the hypothetical situation as embodied in the following telegram: (See pages 84 and 85).

Foster Dulles returned from Duck Island yesterday afternoon and I received from him this morning for delivery to the Chancellor a reply to the Chancellor's letter to him. (See pages 86-88)

After dinner John Haskell and I talked about OSS matters and he told me for the first time the details of how he lost his leg by shell fire at Duesseldorf.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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NOVEMBER 22, 5:00PM
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POUCH:
CAFKFT2
CANUN 2

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1102
RPT INFO:	USMission BERLIN	ROUTINE	302
	USAREUR HEIDELBERG	ROUTINE	239
	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	205
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	306
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	118

PARIS pass USRO, USCINCEUR, Thurston and West.

Following thought suggested in event Soviets declare their occupation responsibilities Berlin terminated and transferred to Germans:

Four Powers' responsibilities for quadripartite status Berlin stem from military conquest and resulting Four Power Agreements. None of Four Powers may relinquish or transfer to others the rights and obligations under these agreements without consent other signatories. If one Power denounces its obligations and terminates its occupation of area assigned to it (without retaining even ultimate responsibilities resulting from quadripartite agreements, as Three Powers did in case Federal Republic), a vacuum is thereby created and remaining Three Powers could declare necessity assume responsibilities for area vacated

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- 2 -

DATE

by fourth Power.

Since Soviets left Allied Kommandatura, that body has continued exist on at least theoretical quadripartite basis even though its jurisdiction of necessity limited to Western Sectors. It could be claimed that Soviet withdrawal now from East Sector alters this situation in that Kommandatura would have to resume control over that Sector and form and extent German authority there subject to Kommandatura approval.

BRUCE

William R. Tyler

AUTH:POL:William R. Tyler

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"My Dear Friend:

On my returning this morning to Washington, I find your letter of November 20. It deals with problems of the utmost gravity which, as you know, have been receiving the consideration of the President and myself as well as of the officers of the Government. The presence here of Ambassador Bruce a few days ago gave us the opportunity to talk over the Berlin problem.

Of course, the situation that we face is still hypothetical. The Soviets have given some indications as to their intentions but have not yet made these intentions precise or operative.

I am sure that our two Governments start from a common premise, often reiterated, that the abandonment of the free part of the City of Berlin is totally unacceptable, and this includes the rights of transit to and from the Federal Republic to Western Berlin. Our rights were won in the war, they are reflected in the Protocol of September 12, 1944 and were re-expressed by the Soviet Union and the Three Western Powers at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers held in Paris in June 1949. It was there agreed that 'As regards the movement of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern and the Western Zones and between the Zones and Berlin, and also in regard to transit, the occupation authorities, each in his own Zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary', etc. Surely such an obligation, jointly agreed to, cannot be terminated by unilateral action.

I also recall that the directive agreed to at the Geneva Summit Meeting of 1955 stipulated that 'The heads of Government, recognizing their common responsibility for the settlement of the German

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question' etc. Surely the question of Berlin is part of this 'common responsibility' on the part of the Four Powers. This again is something from which the Soviet Union cannot unilaterally disengage itself.

I would myself have thought that it might be possible to hold the Soviet Union to its obligations and at the same time deal on a de facto basis with minor functionaries of the GDR, so long as they merely carried out perfunctorily the present arrangements. That, in our opinion, would not and should not involve any diplomatic recognition of the GDR or any waiver of our rights vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. I believe that the Federal Republic, itself, without this implying diplomatic recognition, deals in a number of respects with minor functionaries of the GDR.

On the other hand, we recognize that there are pyschological as well as purely juridical factors to be taken into account. Certainly we should not allow anyone to get the impression that there is any lack of firmness and dependability in the policies of the Western Allies. Your views as to how best to display that firmness will carry great weight with us. The President and I have full confidence in your steadfastness and your judgment and your dedication to the cause of freedom.

So far, as we both recognize, the Soviet has not made known precisely what measures it will take. You consider it necessary that without delay there be a meeting of the four Governments when the Soviet Union makes its measures known. The United States would be glad to participate in such a meeting, although I cannot say in advance of knowing the date, at what level we could participate with the necessary promptness. But whoever speaks for us will have the full confidence and authority of the President and myself, if indeed I do not personally participate, which would be my

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preference if the timing permits.

With best regards, I am

Faithfully yours,

Foster Dulles."

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Wednesday, November 26, 1958

John Haskell left after lunch.

We spent most of the day talking about Berlin. In the Embassy we are unanimous, as are General Hamlett and the members of the Berlin Mission, in favor of a [redacted] cancellation of existing contingency instructions for travel in case Soviet personnel is replaced by GDR officials at checkpoints. We have recommended replacing existing orders by a new set, part of which would provide for an immediate turn-back of trains or vehicles if any documents should be demanded of their conductors by GDR personnel.

Ambassador Grewe came to see me this afternoon. He said nothing interesting had transpired at the German Ambassadors' meeting yesterday. Today the Foreign Office is quiet for the Chancellor, von Brentano and others are with General de Gaulle and his troupe at Bad Kreuznach.

Just before he left Washington, Grewe talked to Bob Murphy and gained from him the impression we did not wish to resort to an airlift but would like to preserve our rights to surface access to Berlin, by force if necessary. I know there is considerable sentiment in this sense in high quarters of the Pentagon. The same idea is attributed to the President himself, although we have not been told here what may be contemplated in this regard. Obviously, the

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resources of our Berlin garrison are entirely insufficient for such a purpose if they were to be seriously challenged.

About 7 o'clock tonight a storm broke out over remarks attributed to the Secretary at his press conference in Washington this morning. Our first information on the subject came from UPI and indicated Dulles [redacted] said the Four Western Powers were in agreement on dealing with GDR officials as agents of the Soviet Government if the Soviets wanted to turn over their existing responsibilities to the East Germans. Brandt and others in Berlin were seriously alarmed and there will be a big play tomorrow about this in the German papers.

Before the AP and Department Wireless Bulletin became available, I telephoned Livvy Merchant to tell him how seriously we view the consequences of such a statement if indeed it had actually been made. He said he had read the transcript, and the UPI story as related by me was based on a serious misinterpretation of what had actually been said. He will shortly send us the authentic text.

Later in the evening I received the exact transcript. As regards its effect on German public opinion, I am thoroughly dissatisfied with it. The Secretary displayed his usual ability to state the alternativesclearly, but in recognizing the possibility of regarding GDR officials as agents of the Soviets he is certain to alarm governmental and private circles here to a high degree. In fact

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the excitement in Berlin is such that one of the Senators is flying down tonight to talk to Rebecca Wellington about it.

This is another instance of what has always seemed to me to be the folly of discussing publicly diplomatic crises and negotiations when, as almost any reputable newspaper correspondent will admit, an answer from an official that a response would not be in the public interest would be accepted. Moreover, if the Soviet proposal has not already been prepared, it might have some influence on its content. In a lesser degree, the Secretary's utterances some time ago comparing Quemoy and Matsu to Berlin had disturbing repercussions.

Thursday, November 27, 1958

I spent the early morning talking to various people about the press conference affair, but had [redacted] no word on it from any member of the German Government, although von Eckardt is calling a press conference this afternoon at which it will presumably be debated. Obviously, there is only one thing for the Embassy to do and that is to support loyally the interpretation given to us in the form of a "Guidance" received here this morning. I remain extremely uneasy over the situation.

E and I went to church with Stevie and the children for the 11 o'clock Thanksgiving services, at which I read the President's

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Proclamation and Bill Tyler the first lesson, Captain Estabrook taking charge of the second lesson.

We had an early lunch on a magnificent turkey with all the usual American accessories, and then I went to the office. There I received from Washington a copy of the Chancellor's letter to the Secretary, sent to Washington on November 20, 1958, reading as follows:

"Dear Mr. Dulles

Dear Friend:

This morning the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, Mr. Smirnov, called on me to inform me officially that the Government of the Soviet Union has the intention to renounce in a few days the 'occupation statute' for the City of Berlin. The rationale for this is known to you from the declarations of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev and from the statements of the Soviet press, especially Pravda.

Ambassador Grewe has on my instructions already talked to you about the results of these announced measures. The report of his talk with you lies before me.

Mr. von Brentano has received the British Ambassador, Minister Trimble and Minister Leduc and has informed them about the talk with Mr. Smirnow.

The close and friendly relations which bind us together induce me to bring before you in great frankness the grave concern which fills me in view of this imminent development. The status of the free part of the City of Berlin is of such decisive significance that I certainly do not say too much if I indicate that the surrender of

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Berlin would have unpredictable political consequences. I must expressly say to you with what gratitude the whole German people has taken note of the repeated declarations of the Governments of the United States of America, United Kingdom and France that it is the irrevocable task of the three Powers to maintain and protect the freedom of Berlin. The political measures which the Soviet Union has announced must clearly serve to put to the test the firmness and dependability of the entire policy of the free world. I speak intentionally of the free world, for in the communique which was published at the conclusion of the deliberations of the Chiefs of Government of NATO in December of last year all the member states of the Atlantic Community unanimously pledged themselves to this duty.

I am fully aware that we all assume a political risk if we in view of the imminent decision of the Soviet Union declare ourselves to be unalterably true to this task and to accept its consequences. But I do not conceal my concern that we would place in question the trustworthiness of the entire policy and solidarity of the free world if the Soviet Union succeeds, perhaps by detours and perhaps in stages, to undermine this policy. I am convinced that the Soviet Union will proceed cleverly and carefully. At first it will give out that the transfer of rights from the Four Power agreement to the government of the so-called German Democratic Republic will change nothing in the previous status and it will, as I believe also direct the authorities of the GDR at first to preserve this appearance. If we put up with this situation a second step will follow. The GDR will somehow raise the question that the free traffic of civilians is no longer permitted on the airways but requires the consent of the authorities of the GDR. Thereupon it will become impossible for hundreds of thousands of men to take the road to freedom by way of the city of Berlin. The GDR will perhaps not begin by making difficulties for

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the representatives of the three Western Powers and for the troops stationed in Berlin; it will place limitations upon the free traffic between Berlin and the Federal Republic and its sovereignty and in the end will paralyze it.

The political, economic, and above all, the psychological reactions in Berlin and in Germany will be unpredictable. But also concern will be aroused in other parts of the world and among the members of the Atlantic Community that the first serious concession will not be the last. In the historical controversy between Communism and the free world, the Soviet Union would thereby win without effort the first and perhaps the decisive battle.

I consider it urgently necessary that we make ourselves clear concerning this danger with all frankness and with all earnestness. I am also writing in the same sense to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan. As you know, I will meet on next Wednesday with the French Premier, General De Gaulle; we have already put this question on the agenda of the meeting. Moreover, I consider it especially desirable, yes necessary, that we without delay come together in a meeting of the four governments when the Soviet Union makes its measures known. We can decide in short order about the time and place of such a meeting through our Ambassadors.

With warmest greetings,

As ever,

Your,

/s/ ADENAUER."

I was scheduled to go to Berlin tomorrow night and remain there until Tuesday night, but under the circumstances am trying to alter my plans and spend only Sunday in Berlin where I would attend

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the opening ceremonies of the Hilton Hotel, see Mayor Brandt and some of our own people. I think it would be a mistake to absent myself from Bonn at this period.

Jock Whitney called me from London to say the Vice President wanted to decide whether or not he should make an immediate trip to Berlin as proposed by Mayor Brandt. I informed Whitney of the gist of a telegram I had just sent to the Vice President and the Secretary on this subject, discouraging the idea.

Ben Moore came to see me late this afternoon. He has been in Europe in connection with the activities of the Interparliamentary Union.

This was E's birthday. The children showered her with gifts, and we had a cake for her.

Bill Tyler came in after dinner and I sat up with him until midnight drafting a telegram of recommendation to the Department, the chief point of which was advocating the giving of consideration to a conference between Eisenhower, Adenauer, de Gaulle and Macmillan regarding the answer to the Soviet proposal.

Friday, November 28, 1958

Ben Moore and I had a further talk this morning about European integration and the Free Trade Area.

I then went to see the Chancellor and reported my conversation to the Department in the following telegram (see 96-98 following):

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5 P.M.

28 November 1958
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SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	NIACT	1137
RPT TO:	AmEmbassy LONDON	PRIORITY	224
	AmEmbassy PARIS	PRIORITY	322
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	PRIORITY	128
	USMission BERLIN	PRIORITY	315
	USAREUR HEIDELBERG	PRIORITY	259
	USAFE WIESBADEN	PRIORITY	232

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST.

Saw Chancellor this morning. He said he had just told Brentano that the Foreign Ministers of U.S., U.K., France and FedRep should get together one afternoon during December Paris NATO meeting and discuss Soviet note and Berlin problem. This would be better procedure than any special conference and would not attract much public attention. He added it would be very desirable if Secretary Dulles could so arrange his schedule in Paris to make such a meeting possible.

He expressed himself as very pleased with deGaulle visit to Bad Kreuznach. Relationship between General and himself had been most cordial. He had talked privately for two hours with General on world politics and had found their views generally in accord.

In that part of meeting attended by respective advisers, two chief topics were reviewed: (1) Common Market and Free Trade Area; (2) Berlin.

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As to (1) General and he had decided to seek approval of other four members Common Market at forthcoming ministerial meeting and refer matter to Common Market Commission under chairmanship of Hallstein, in attempt reach workable arrangement. I asked whether I was at liberty to mention this except to my own Government, and he answered no, for Franco-German decision was still in course of being conveyed to other four members. He is seeing British Amb Steel this afternoon and no doubt will communicate same to him.

(2) Adenauer said he had not had chance to study in detail various Russian notes on subject Berlin. He thinks they must be viewed against background of January Soviet party congress in Moscow and we should await conclusion that conference before fixing any definite Western decision. He does not want to have Khrushchev in position to boast during session congress that he had sent a note and forced the four heads of Western governments to have meeting.

Gen. de Gaulle had agreed with him that since NATO founding Soviets have made no advances in Europe, and that Berlin must continue to be garrisoned by allied troops, since its loss would give Soviets almost fatal advantage over West.

Moreover, he said he had not made up his mind whether or when it would be necessary for four heads to convene. This could be discussed by FonMins in Paris, but at any rate time for any such meeting was "not yet".

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Chancellor going to Berlin to spend Thursday and Friday next week and will make several speeches there. He is very calm and expects present excitement in German press to subside.

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As a result of this talk with the Chancellor, we decided not to send our recommendations to the Department at this time regarding a conference between Eisenhower, Adenauer, de Gaulle and Macmillan.

E and I lunched with the Steels, where the Canadian Ambassador and the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons were guests. Pleasant and interesting.

Countess Dönhoff called on me this afternoon to discuss the Soviet notes. Inter alia, I said I thought the most important basis for any consideration of them must start with the determination to maintain the position of the allied garrisons in Berlin, if necessary by force.

We had a reception tonight for American students, Fulbright and others, mostly from Bonn and Cologne Universities, with a scattering of German professors and members of our Embassy staff. There were about 125 of them, and some were still there when we left for dinner at the Spanish Embassy.

There we had the usual excellent food and drink, and upon leaving, charming Madame Aguirre gave me a bottle of Chinchon.

Saturday, November 29, 1958

At the office. I attended a meeting called by van Scherpenberg, the subject of which I discussed with him last night at the Spaniards'. I sent off the three following telegrams to the Department (pages 100-103).

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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11 A M
29 November 1958
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON NIACT 1142

RPT TO: USMission BERLIN PRIORITY 219
AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 228
AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 326
AmEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 131
USAFE WIESBADEN PRIORITY 233
USAREUR HEIDELBERG PRIORITY 264

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST

FOR SECRETARY FROM BRUCE

I had prepared recommendations in event that after receipt Soviet proposal Chancellor would repeat request for speedy four-power meeting to consider it. Since he has now changed his mind this regard (Embtel 1137) and wants at least preliminary discussions to take place during Paris NATO meeting, I shall not comment until after my return from Berlin Tuesday morning, when I shall have had opportunity to sound out sentiment there.

Personally believe probably desirable highest governmental level quadripartite discussions between Allied and FedRep ~~xxx~~ ultimately take place, but matter of timing not yet ready for determination. Am seeing State Secretary van Scherpenberg this morning and we will proceed immediately with him to establishment quadripartite standing committee at Ambassadorial level with himself probably the FonOff official member.

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11:30 A M
29 November 1958
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON NIACT 1144
RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 229
AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 327

FOR SECRETARY FROM BRUCE

LONDON, PARIS FOR AMBASSADORS

At van Scherpenberg meeting this morning with French, British Ambassadors and myself, speaking for Brentano he asked me to ascertain as soon as possible whether you might find it convenient to meet in Paris with British, French and German FonMins on either December 15 or 16.

There are two suggested possibilities:

1. If it suited your convenience to arrive on 15th, meeting be held that afternoon and that scheduled for WEU, which other three FonMins will attend, be changed to a morning session.

2. In case above (which preferred by Brentano) not possible, Spaak be asked to postpone NATO opening until afternoon 16th, so that four FonMins could gather that morning.

Please instruct.

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AUTH: David Bruce

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(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

102

29 NW

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CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

748
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

5 P.M.

29 November 1958
DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	ROUTINE	1148
RPT TO:	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	232
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	330
	USMission BERLIN	ROUTINE	323

On behalf von Brentano, van Scherpenberg met this morning with Steel, Seydoux and myself. He proposed:

1. Consultation group to be formed in Bonn, consisting of FonMin or State Secy and Ambassadors UK, France, US. Present tripartite and quadrapartite working committees would continue. Group would meet as required, and when convened first time would study procedures and internal organization.

As instructed, British and myself stated we had authority respective Governments to consent. Seydoux said he would refer matter Paris.

2. Scherpenberg stated his Govt considered it important to have discussion on Berlin around time Paris NATO meeting between FonMins US, UK, France and Fedrep. Obvious date ~~xxxxx~~ set must meet wishes Secretary Dulles. Germans would prefer Dec 15, otherwise Dec 16, in which ~~x~~ case Spaak should be asked to postpone NATO opening from morning until afternoon.

Scherpenberg also talked about way in which consultation with NATO on Berlin problem might be handled, but all felt no recommendation should be made at this time by those present. He expressed personal view

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DATE

Berlin item should be left on NAC agenda Dec 3 and our respective Permanent Representatives should analyze Soviet proposal but suggest no action.

Wilkinson of British Embassy took minutes for three allied Ambassadors and they will be forwarded to Dept next week.

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AUTH: David Bruce

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Back at the office this afternoon.

We left at 11:30 tonight by train for Berlin.

Sunday, November 30, 1958

General Hamlett, Guf and a swarm of newspaper photographers were at the station upon our arrival in Berlin this morning. I went immediately to the office, where I had a talk with General Hodes before he held a successful conference with the German press.

At 11:30 I reached the Hilton Hotel. The ceremony, involving the presentation to Conrad Hilton of a huge key to the city, was held in the open plaza. It had become bitterly cold, but the more important spectators were saved from pneumonia by the rapid circulation of trays bearing hot rum drinks.

Willy Brandt made a rousing speech on the significance of the act of faith in the future of Berlin embodied in the construction of this new fine hostelry. Then he proceeded with a rip-roaring discourse on the necessity of preserving Berlin's freedom. Senator Hertz made a shorter oration. Hilton concluded the speeches, [redacted] then called upon a large choir to sing a prayer for peace written by himself and set to music by a German composer. A band played the American and German National Anthems while the flags of the two countries, together with that of Berlin and a house pennant of Hilton International Hotels Inc. were hoisted. There were many elements of humor in

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the ceremonies but the general effect was good.

I then went to Mr. Hilton's private suite, a magnificent layout, where a number of us took some further tonic against the cold weather. There I met for the first time Mr. Hilton's son Nicky, whose name keeps cropping up in the press, usually in connection with marriages. He is a good looking young man. He appealed to me to help him get a joint passport for himself and his new wife. In an innocent desire to aid him, I suggested it might be more practicable if each of them had a passport, hers to be in her married name. He laughed and said, "I don't like that idea. It would make it easier for her to run away."

On this gay note we adjourned to the grill room for a delicious meal. At its end there were more speeches. My own contribution, after what I considered were appropriately sportive remarks, was as follows:

"This great hotel is a physical witness of the permanence attributed by the Western World to the freedom of West Berlin. Also, it stands in shining contrast to those partially repaired or shattered hulks of what were once hotels in East Berlin, whose people have been restrained, by alien control over their standard of living, from the restoration of their traditional places of entertainment.

However, today's ceremonies are not merely the expression of confidence by Western and domestic capital in your famous city.

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They signify, also, the attraction which Free Berlin exercises over a vast and ever-growing trade, and the prospect of visitors who come not only on commercial errands, but of those who wish to view the spectacular resuscitation of a once destroyed metropolis, now born anew and nourished into strength and beauty, by the devoted efforts of its courageous citizens.

To those citizens, I would like to say that the faith and resolution of your foreign friends which helped you in past crises to preserve your integrity and freedom will not fail you in the present or the future."

Willy Brandt and I drove together to my house where we spent a couple of hours together. I reported his conversation to the Department in the following telegram. (See pages 107-109.)

E and I went around to the Hamletts' where we met the Hodes' and General and Mrs. Farrell, a delightful couple.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

FOR REPLY SEE PAGE THREE

CORRECTION: FIRST LINE SHOULD BE "FROM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN BRUCE". SIGNATURE SHOULD BE GUFLER
1 DEC 58

107

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FILE

FROM: BERLIN

NUMBER: 379 NOVEMBER 30, 6 PM

RECEIVED: NOVEMBER 30, 1958 8:55 PM

PRIORITY

DEPTH ONE SENT DEPT 429 RPTD INFO LONDON 75 PARIS 69 MOSCOW 14 CONN 379

FOR S: UNCINCEUR, USRO THUSTOH AND WEST.
FROM BRUCE

I HAD TALK WITH WILLY BRANDT THIS AFTERNOON. HIS THOUGHTS SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

1. POLAND. ALLIES SHOULD DEAL NOT RPT NOT WITH PROBLEM OF BERLIN ALONE BUT RATHER OF WHOLE OF GERMANY.

THINKS SOVIETS HAVE NOT RPT NOT PRESENTED A MINIMUM BUT MAXIMUM PROGRAM. BELIEVES IT NOT RPT NOT PROBABLE SOVIETS WOULD GO TO WAR AT THIS TIME. MIGHT EVEN AGREE TO CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND WEST ZONE IF THEY HAD A QUID PRO QUO, ESPECIALLY IN WAY OF SHUTTING OFF FLOW OF REFUGEES, AND STOPPING FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF SECRET AGENTS. BEST SOLUTION FROM SOVIET STANDPOINT WOULD BE TO TAKE OVER BERLIN, BUT THIS IS NOT RPT NOT POLITICALLY REALISTIC. SOVIETS CAN ALREADY STOP REFUGEE MOVEMENT IF THEY APPLY THEIR ENERGIES AND FACILITIES TO IT. THEREFORE, WILL PROBABLY INSTITUTE STRICTLY CONTROLLED BOUNDARY LINE IN BERLIN. REFUGEE QUESTION AND THAT OF UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES IS NOT RPT NOT THEIR ONLY MOTIVATING FORCE, FOR PRESTIGE IS ALSO INVOLVED.

2. RE AGENCY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GER AND SOVIET GOVT. BERLINERS ASTONISHED AS THEY WOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE BEEN A WEEK PREVIOUSLY, BECAUSE VON BRENTANO WHO WAS HERE PRECEDING WEEK HAD EXPRESSED HIMSELF AS THINKING SUCH A CONCEPT QUITE IMPOSSIBLE. AS RESULT OF THIS, AND CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN KLEIN AND VAN SCHERPENBERG, BERLIN AUTHORITIES HAD CONCLUDED WHOLE IDEA HAD BEEN GIVEN UP AND ALLIES WOULD RESORT TO AIRLIFT, OR EVEN MAINTENANCE OF SURFACE ACCESS BY FORCE. THEORETICALLY,

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DE FACTO RECOGNITION EVEN ON AN AD HOC BASIS WOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE BEEN SO ALARMING TO BERLIN AUTHORITIES, IF THERE WERE NOT RPT NOT A PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT AS WELL. CONSEQUENTLY, THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALLIES OF ANY ASSERTION OF GDR AUTHORITY AT CHECK POINTS AS AGENTS OF SOVIETS WOULD NOW BE DISASTROUS.

THIS MATTER, HOWEVER, HAD BEEN AT LEAST MOMENTARILY OBSCURED BY SOVIET NOTE, BUT THE FEELING JUST EXPRESSED STILL REMAINED. THIS WOULD BE REGARDED AS FIRST STEP ON SLIPPERY SLOPE.

3. MAINTENANCE OF US GARRISON IN BERLIN IS MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE THING US CAN DO. BRANDT WOULD PREFER IT TO BE STRENGTHENED IN SENSE OF SEEMING TO HAVE BEEN EVEN IF SUBSTANTIALLY LITTLE MILITARY WEIGHT WERE ADDED. SHOWING OF NEW UNITS IN STREETS WOULD BE USEFUL.

4. BERLINERS WOULD LIKE FEDREP TO BE PREPARED TO BREAK OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS, BUT WOULD NOT RPT NOT EXPECT OTHER NATIONS TO DO IT. HOWEVER, CANNOT SUGGEST SUCH MOVE AT THIS TIME, IN VIEW STANDSTILL NATURE OF SOVIET NOTE. THIS ACTION SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE USE.

5. BERLINERS DO NOT RPT NOT WANT REPETITION OF GUARANTIES; US AT APPROPRIATE TIME SHOULD AGAIN REFER TO THEM, BUT THEY SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

6. THERE SHOULD BE A STATEMENT BY ALLIES THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS UNDER STUDY AND AN ANSWER WILL BE FORTHCOMING. THE EVENTUAL REPLY SHOULD PRESENT WESTERN CASE EVEN IF NOT RPT NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET NOTE. BZEEVES NO RPT NO IMMEDIATE RESPONSE OR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SOVIET NOTE IS REQUIRED BUT THERE SHOULD BE A PRELIMINARY ANSWER IN EARLY JANUARY.

7. ONE MATTER IS OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE. NAMELY SOVIET UNDERSTANDING THAT EFFECTIVE INTERFERENCE, ESPECIALLY ON AIR ROUTES, WITH ALLIED MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND BERLIN WILL ENTAIL US WAR DIRECTLY AGAINST SOVIET UNION.

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C. BRANDT THINKS HE SHOULD BE INVITED TO ATTEND PARIS MEETING OF FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS DURING THAT PART OF IT DEVOTED TO BERLIN PROBLEM. HE INTENDS TAKING THIS UP WITH CHANCELLOR NEXT WEEK.

D. HE DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE VISIT NOW TO UNITED STATES. HE HAD BEEN INVITED TO DO SO SOME TIME AGO BY JFC BUT IS INCLINED TO POSTPONE ACCEPTANCE UNTIL NEXT YEAR. I ADVISED HIM TO STICK TO HIS DECISION.

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Monday, December 1, 1958

I had no breathing spell today. After reading messages and office papers, I joined Hamlett and John Bross at Bill Harvey's house. We spent several interesting hours there, including lunch.

Axel Springer came to see me at 4:30 and I had a long talk with him. At 5:30 I had a cocktail party for the following American correspondents:

James P. Anderson	AFN
Robert Ball	Time and Life
Laurence P. Dalcher	RIAS
Joseph B. Fleming	UPI
Russell J. Hill	Radio Free Europe
Paul Moor	ABC
John H. Rich	NBC
Seymour Topping	AP
Russ Braley	NY Daily News
Gaston Coblentz	NY Herald Tribune
David Binder	Chicago Daily News
Brack Curry	AP
Waldo Drake	Los Angeles Times
Reinhold G. Ensz	AP
Ernest Leiser	CBS
Mrs. Gruson	NY Times
Nathan Margolin	Stars and Stripes
John Mulliken	Time and Life
David Nichol	Chicago Daily News
Arthur Olsen	New York Times
Bynum Shaw	Baltimore Sun
Bayard Stockton	Newsweek
Henry N. Taylor	Scripps Howard

General Hamlett, Guf, Findley Burns, Albert E. Hemsing (Acting Public Affairs Officer) and Donald R. Hall (Information Officer) were also in attendance. This lasted quite late, since there was a

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great volume of conversation.

We left tonight on the return trip to Mehlem.

Tuesday, December 2, 1958

After a day largely devoted to conferences with the Political Section, we sent off two telegrams to the Department. (See pages 112-117.)

This afternoon Erwin Canham, Editor in Chief of the Christian Science Monitor, came to see me with his German correspondent, Emlyn Williams. They are both [redacted] intelligent men. As is inevitable nowadays, our talk hinged on the Berlin problem.

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SECRET
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71
CONTRO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

7:00 PM
2 December 1958
DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1160
RPT TO:	USMission BERLIN	PRIORITY	326
	AmEmbassy LONDON	PRIORITY	237
	AmEmbassy PARIS	PRIORITY	335
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	PRIORITY	134
	USAFE WIESBADEN	PRIORITY	237
	USAREUR HEIDELBERG	PRIORITY	273

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST NOFORN

Immediate objective Soviet note seems clear. The Four Power Agreements on Berlin have been denounced and Soviet action will follow in 6 months or less, as specified in the note. Since the West is unanimous in rejecting a "free demilitarized city of Berlin", there is no alternative to our taking the position that we will maintain our garrisons in Berlin. We cannot long maintain garrisons as Soviet note suggests by dealing with GDR. Therefore, we must make clear (a) we will not deal with GDR, (b) we will maintain our garrisons, (c) our readiness to use force against any interference our access to Berlin. If we are not prepared to deal with the GDR, our surface access routes will probably be denied to us. Whether we can maintain our air access will depend on (a) the extent to which the Soviets and the GDR are prepared to interfere with our planes, and (b) the extent to which we are prepared to resort to force in order to overcome such interference.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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DATE

These are the immediate practical politico-military aspects of the Soviet note. However, the note has broader implications than those relating to Berlin, and these concern the future of Germany and of the Western alliance itself. The note is a move, couched in diplomatic form, but in reality directed to, and operating on, public opinion in Germany and the West in general. By the act of its publication, the note unleashes powerful pressures on German opinion in the direction of reaching some kind of accommodation with the Soviet Union through negotiation.

In the last year, the idea of disengagement has been repeatedly brought to the fore by the different versions of the Rapacki Plan, by the public utterances of supporters of this general concept, e.g.: George Kennan. While there has been no wavering in the official Western reaction, the ground beneath the principal members of the alliance is of varying degrees of hardness. In the case of the British it may be said to be definitely soft. The significance of the note is that it greatly encourages those elements in Germany and in the rest of the West who are in favor of reaching some kind of accommodation in Central Europe, which will in their view, appease the Soviets.

The six months deadline is perhaps less important in relation to the Berlin question, than in its effect on Western opinion and attitudes. It might be called, from the Soviet viewpoint, a period of "incubation" during which pressures will be generated which may compel the Western Governments to negotiate with the Soviet Union on a basis which will place

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them at a disadvantage.

Therefore it would appear that the task at the December 15 Foreign Ministers meeting should be (1) to reach agreement on a common interpretation of the objectives of the Soviet Union as revealed by their note; (2) to make recommendations on what should be done with regard to Berlin (the Germans should be encouraged to come up with ideas); (3) to make recommendations on the substance and timing of a reply to the Soviet note.

If we intend to maintain our garrisons in Berlin beyond the expiration of the Soviet deadline, the Soviets should be put on notice of such determination and we should say nothing which might lead them to infer that we would not use force to maintain our land and air access.

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7:00 PM

2 December 1958 — DATE

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RPT TO:	USMission BERLIN	ROUTINE	327
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	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	135
	USAFE WIESBADEN	ROUTINE	238
	USAREUR HEIDELBERG	ROUTINE	274

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST

NOFORN

During two-day visit to Berlin I talked with many German political leaders, American military and civilian officials and journalists.

A few impressions are clear:

1. As long as allied garrisons, especially U.S., remain in West Berlin, the morale of its citizens will be at least moderately satisfactory, on the assumption the presence of such garrisons means that under certain circumstances the U.S. would be ready to go to war with the Soviet Union in order to defend its rights in Berlin.

2. At present the factor most adversely affecting morale is the fear that the U.S. might be prepared to deal at some level, even though it might be on minor points, with GDR official representatives. This sentiment is expressed most immediately in connection with the possible turnover of checkpoint controls by the Soviets to the GDR. An acceptance by the

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Allies of an agency or other relationship in this respect would be almost unanimously condemned. In spite of the six-month waiting period specified in the Soviet note, there are some Berliners who believe Soviets may soon face us with checkpoint controls delegated to GDR personnel. Suggest speedy revision existing tripartite agreement to conform to recommendations USBER 400 / to Department be made, and favorable U. S. Govt decision thereon be pressed for adoption by our Allies. Until this is done, I fear leak of current instructions may occur, and consequences would be extremely dangerous and certainly shattering to our prestige.

3. Although generally believing an attack upon our garrison would result in U. S.-Soviet war, there is doubt whether we would use force if required to maintain access to Berlin. Again opinion is almost unanimous we should be prepared to fight for preservation access rights, and Soviets and East Germans should be convinced such is our determination.

Scepticism over our ability militarily to force our way through by train or autobahn is widely prevalent. However, even if such scepticism proved justified, Berliners feel strongly we should nevertheless continue to assert our right to resume interrupted traffic and our intention to do so by force, if the occasion warrants.

As to access by air, there is confidence in our ability to maintain our access, provided we intend, and orders are issued, to protect this traffic by appropriate force even at risk of war. Please refer to Embtel 1334;

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October 27, 1957, written for somewhat different circumstances but in principle applicable.

4. Many see in Soviet note ~~xx~~ opportunity for West to take hard line in refusing Berlin proposals ~~but to make~~ while making counter-propositions that would bring under discussion problems affecting whole of Germany.

I talked only to one German journalist, publisher Axel Springer. He has recently been stout in demanding firm stand by Berliners and Allies against turnover to GDR, is in close contact with Mayor Brandt, and after long lapse again received by Chancellor. He confirmed, in the expression of his own views, the reactions I have before referred to.

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AUTH: David Bruce

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Wednesday, December 3, 1958

Griffith Johnson, Vice President of the Motion Picture Export Association of America, with his German representative, Mr. Hochstetter, and Messrs. Ockey and Becker of the Embassy staff, conferred with me this morning over the difficulties they are facing over the continuance of the free market here for American motion pictures. The Ministry of Economics seems to favor a demand made by German companies that the Americans voluntarily limit the number of their films exported to Germany - currently about 200 - and also guarantee the showing of a certain number of German films in the United States. The latter is quite impossible since American producing companies no longer exercise any real control over exhibitors. This is a situation about which the Embassy will no doubt have to make representations.

Nicolas Nabokov, Secretary General of the Congress for Liberty and Culture (Paris), Cynthia and Charlie Saltzman, and Mrs. Maya de Montaudouin of the FBO office, came to lunch with us. Charlie is on a tour for his firm, Goldman Sachs. I had not seen him for a long time, but was talking about him the other night with his great friend, John Haskell. I like him immensely.

Nicky is as usual full of ideas, especially of a musical nature. He wants the U. S. Air Force to fly a Hungarian orchestra, which is under his organization's sponsorship, to the United States.

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Max Kohnstamm visited me this afternoon. He had come down from Brussels. He is concerned over the failure of the French Government to nominate a candidate to succeed Armand as President of the EURATOM Commission. Armand has had a nervous breakdown. Hirsch was expected to replace him but has not as yet received the tap from General de Gaulle. Meanwhile, the work of the Commission is seriously suffering. We talked a lot about the Free Trade Area. The negotiations are in a mess. Again a solution for this problem largely depends on action to be taken by the French Government, and the display of more flexibility by the British.

Ambassador Shaw of Australia came to see me to exchange views on the Berlin situation. He says the Australians are encountering more and more difficulties in selling their raw materials in Germany.

We dined with Toni and Ed Hughes. The Shaws and three other couples were there. It was an extremely pleasant evening. I was distressed to hear of Ed's transfer to New York, effective in January. We like them both so much.

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Thursday, December 4, 1958

Lots of talk this morning about Berlin.

Mrs. Aldrich came out to the house and she, Commander Aldrich and I were photographed in the act of my presenting to her a certificate of commendation for her work in the community. I understand the pictures are to be published in her hometown newspaper and in a naval journal.

Joe Dasher drove down from Cologne to see me in connection with his work.

Altschull of AP and later Wellington Long of UPI talked to me about the Berlin crisis. We have to be [redacted] careful in dealing with newspaper correspondents, but on the whole, during my stay here, I have found our American correspondents [redacted] reliable when they understand conversations are entirely on a "background" basis. In the present situation, there is little information they can glean from me or anyone in the Embassy. We have not yet received any definite instructions from Washington or information, even upon the sequence of events during the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris. Indeed, we telegraphed to the Department today protesting strongly against the possibility that the Foreign Ministers of the U. S., U. K. and France would gather in Paris without the German Foreign Minister being present. I feel sure Secretary Dulles will not

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countenance this arrangement, supposedly inspired by the French (I hope it is untrue). I assume one reason we have had no instructions from Washington is due to Foster having been away on a trip, commencing with the inauguration of the new President of Mexico, and winding up yesterday in San Francisco, where he delivered a speech on foreign policy. He was expected in Washington last night, and, since he is the fount in the Department from whom all decisions flow, we may soon receive more definite information about plans being made there.

Friday, December 5, 1958

It has been cold and foggy for the last few days.

Chancellor Adenauer went to Berlin yesterday; von Brentano and van Scherpenberg are absent. The Ambassadors' group has not met. The French Ambassador is said to have received orders from his Government to attend the proposed Ambassadors' meetings as an observer and not a participant. So, as far as the formulation of policy here on a quadripartite basis is concerned, little progress has been made.

I attended the opening of the Little League Basketball season tonight at Plittersdorf, made a short speech, and threw out the ball, after the German and American national anthems had been executed.

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Tonight we had a dinner for Elim and Mary O'Shaughnessy, who arrived here yesterday with baby and nurse on the first leg of their home leave trip. The other guests were: Mr. and Mrs. P. A. Wilkinson of the British Embassy, Mr. and Mrs. Gilles Curien of the French Embassy, Mr. and Mrs. William Tyler and their houseguest, Mrs. Anne Wignall, the Cyrus Sulzbergers and Sydney Grusons of the New York Times, Harry and Maria Schwartz, Rebecca Wellington, Hugh and Mary Appling, and Al Wells.

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Saturday, December 6, 1958

To the office in the morning.

Joe and Lois Dasher and Colonel Gano came to lunch. Gano is running a manganese company in Morocco. He says the king's position there is deteriorating, as is almost everything else. During the war, many people considered Gano the ablest chief of any secret service. I [redacted] asked him once in London how he explained the reputation his service [redacted] acquired for never having any traitors in it. He answered that in peace time one should be [redacted] scrupulous about giving the benefit of the doubt to an accused. However, in war time and especially in his trade, the chief of a service on occasions must be the final judge of whether or not one of his operators is a traitor. He must then be prepared personally to take the responsibility of having him killed and sometimes to carry out the job himself. He is a[redacted] interesting man. His attitude about an answer to the Soviet note on Berlin was characteristically tough. He said he thought the Western powers should stand firm now or forever lose the peace.

Sunday, December 7, 1958

We received instructions today to ask the German Foreign Minister to attend a quadripartite meeting on Sunday, December 14, in Paris. Before I could take any action on it, Cecil Lyon called me from Paris to say the French were objecting to this arrangement

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unless it were preceded by a tripartite meeting between representatives of the occupying powers. It took quite a lot of time to get to the bottom of this matter, so I telephoned Livie Merchant at 10 a.m. Washington time to ascertain his orders. He said to let it go until tomorrow morning, and meanwhile he would try to straighten out the French.

At the office today we could obtain little news about the condition of Secretary Dulles, whom the radio reported was in Walter Reed Hospital suffering from an infection of the lower colon. The only wireless report on his condition was reassuring in that it appeared he had been X-rayed and there were no signs of a recurrence of his stomach cancer. Livie thought he had picked up a bug in Mexico and would probably attend the NATO meeting next week.

Jean Monnet came to see me later this afternoon and stayed for dinner. He still favors conversations with the Soviets as frequently as they might desire it. This is a view he has expressed to Dulles in the past, and he expects to do so again when he sees him in Paris.

Monday, December 8, 1958

The plague of Berlin still infects us. The original sin was of course allowing the creation of this absurdly artificial situation, where, even after failing to take precautions to have the city linked to West Germany by territory in Allied possession, we compounded this

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terrible mistake by not entering, when it might have been possible, into clearly defined agreements with the Soviets for unimpeded transit to and from Berlin.

Mr. Faltermayer of the Wall Street Journal came to see me this morning.

This afternoon I stopped at the British Embassy and had a talk with Kit Steel before proceeding to a meeting in von Brentano's office. The results of it and a later get-together with von Brentano and Westrick are set forth in the following telegrams. (Pages 126-134).

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(AUG 57)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

16 VD/ww

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238
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

8 December 1958 /8 PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1205

RPTD INFO: US Mission BERLIN ROUTINE 347
AmEmbassy LONDON ROUTINE 255
AmEmbassy PARIS ROUTINE 359
AmEmbassy MOSCOW ROUTINE 143
USA REUR HEIDELBERG ROUTINE 297

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST.

Von Brentano, van Scherpenberg and Duckwitz met with British, French Ambassadors and myself this afternoon and gave us paper posing various questions connected with Berlin problem, translation whereof forwarded immediately preceding telegram.

FonMin made certain comments but said not necessary to answer at this session except as we individually wished.

His chief observations were:

1. Does not think definitive answer to Soviet note can be produced at or immediately after Paris meeting, since answer should be complete and leave no false Soviet statement uncontradicted. Personally favors a preliminary answer for delivery early January. Replies would be made by individual governments, would contain same substance but variations in form.

Steel thought preliminary reply should be sent around Christmas. Seydoux expressed view NATO communique might serve as preliminary response and would take place of proposed note. I remarked I thought decision this point could well await FonMins Paris conference.

2. FonMin said, now that Senat and other officials Berlin, as well as many people FedRep and elsewhere generally familiar with content

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CHARGE TO

128

- 3 -

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to which PermReprs should consult on Berlin question. Seydoux suggested perhaps there should be two statements made after Paris meeting, one by the U.S., U.K. and French Ministers, another by the four.

5. FonMin said questions presented were in working paper form. He would welcome any questions our Govts might have to ask, and would appreciate, if possible, having preliminary replies to his inquiries that might be discussed in Bonn before Paris meeting.

6. Having disposed of paper, FonMin said Chancellor had been ill, but not seriously, yesterday from cold and fever contracted in Berlin, but was better today.

7. Additionally, he wished to ask one more question: Should Mayor Brandt come to Paris at time of meeting? I answered I had no instructions from my Govt this regard, but expressed personal view this was affair to be settled between FedRep Govt and Brandt. It seemed to me inadvisable, indeed impossible, for him to be present in any capacity that could be construed as making him a fifth Minister, but that I saw no personal objection to his going as a member of the German delegation and be available for expert advice. Steel associated himself with this view. Seydoux said he would consult his Govt. Brentano said he was most anxious to have at soonest possible any comments from our respective Govts this point. It was evident he attaches much importance to this point and strongly endeavors

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Brandt going Paris. I think for many reasons it would be wise to have him there as member German delegation.

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AB.

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SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1204

RPTD INFO: USMission BERLIN ROUTINE 346

AmEmbassy LONDON ROUTINE 254

AmEmbassy PARIS ROUTINE 358

AmEmbassy MOSCOW ROUTINE 142

USAREUR HEIDELBERG ROUTINE 296

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON and WEST.

Reference my immediately following telegram.

Following is translation of paper given Three Ambassadors by Foreign Minister von Brentano in meeting today on Soviet note:

QUOTE In forthcoming consultations following questions should be clarified as long as possible before Paris meeting of Foreign Ministers:

A. Answer to Soviet Note

1) Is it contemplated to answer note?

2) If yes (a) when; (b) jointly or individually?

3) Should notes, as heretofore customary, be kept short and factual or should they go into detail?

4) If detailed answers contemplated, should interim reply be sent?

5) Is it possible to submit draft reply to Foreign Ministers' meeting?

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B. Content of Note

1) Should answer concern itself only with Berlin? If y
should answer (a) consist only of short rejection, based
on international law, of Soviet demands or (b) contain
counterdemands such as: maintenance present conditions,
inclusion of East Berlin in Four Power administration,
guarantee of routes of communication?

2) Should it go beyond Berlin question and

a) contain offer of negotiations on German problem?

b) Offer negotiations on other subjects, e.g., European
security, disarmament, etc?

c) Make concrete counterproposals?

C. Defensive Measures

1) 1954 Standing orders? (Embassy comment: this presumably
means current tripartite contingency plans in event GDR takes
over at checkpoints).

2) Is it contemplated to create permanent Four Power working
group whose task would be, after Foreign Ministers' Conference,
to reach agreement on further steps and their execution?
If so, where should this working group meet, specifically

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where should day by day decisions (~~gelmaessige~~ Abstimmung) be reached?

3) Should propaganda measures also be undertaken in order counter Soviet Berlin proposals, especially in uncommitted world? If so, what measures are contemplated? Are diplomatic steps being considered (e.g. delivery of aide memoire to govts of third states)?

D. Foreign Ministers' Conference

1) Should Conference of Foreign Ministers of USA, France, UK and FedRep issue basic declaration on Berlin question or limit itself to general communique?

2) Is it contemplated in this connection that NATO Ministers' Conference should renew Berlin guarantee of 1954?

3) In what form and to what extent should Berlin question be treated in NATO? END QUOTE.

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DB

AUTH: Ambassador Bruce

Coord:POL - William R. Tyler

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8 December 1958/8 PM
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SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1206

FOR DILLON FROM BRUCE

FonMin and State Secy Westrick, Erhard's deputy, called me in tonight to say Cabinet had reached decision take further steps about American coal imports. According to them, the coal situation has steadily worsened, Chancellor is gravely disturbed, union pressures reflected in mass meetings, nervous protests flooding Govt offices, unemployment coal mines will probably double next year, and so forth. Stocks are still mounting in spite of measures already taken, and sale one million tons to East Zone. Increase in stocks 16,000 tons a day. About 13 million tons in producers' hands in Ruhr area and about 12 million tons in consumers' hands. Present imports from U.S. about 900,000 tons a month.

FedRep wishes again call on article 19 GATT and have present contracts dissolved or postponed. Would like to do this by having industrial enterprises cancel contracts and pay compensation to exporters.

Westrick flying to U.S., leaving here tomorrow night, for consultation on subject. Said FonMin and himself had been told by Cabinet to inform me so Washington would have advance notice subject contemplated discussion.

Without entering into substance of affair, I said seemed to me slightly irregular Westrick suddenly arrive Washington without prior

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appointments. Suggested this be handled in orderly fashion by securing appointments through German Embassy. Answer was this might already have been done, if not would be done, but they would appreciate my communicating directly with you and asking if convenient you, or failing that some member of your staff, see Westrick soonest possible after his arrival. He will remain America one week, but for personal reasons would like appointment soonest possible after noon Wednesday. Please instruct what reply to make.

I told them, and they recognized seriousness reaction U. S. when previous regulations imposed. They said was in part because of this they now wanted discussion with you before announcing new decision.

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At eight o'clock I attended a dinner at Dr. Gerstenmaier's. Bill [redacted] and Bill Tyler were the other Americans present. Since [redacted] sentatives of all parties were there, the range of the conversation on political subjects was unlimited. Everyone was [redacted] polite and jovial, but that did not prevent them from asking me every imaginable question about U. S. foreign policy relating to Germany. I much enjoyed it, but was struck by the confusion apparent when the Germans expressed themselves at considerable length on the same subject. We sat [redacted] late consuming vast quantities of excellent Munich beer with a few shots of rum and whisky to boot. I went to bed at 2 a.m. The other guests at the dinner were: Dr. Carlo Schmid (SPD), Fritz Erler (SPD), Dr. Erich Mende (FDP), Herbert Schneider (DP), Kurt-Georg Kiesinger (CDU), Dr. Hans Furler (CDU), Otto Fuerst von Bismarck (CDU), Karl Theodor Friherr zu Guttenberg (CDU).

Tuesday, December 9, 1958

I talked to Bill Ockey this morning about my conversation of last night with Westrick regarding coal. He is going to a meeting on the subject today.

Mr. Kiesinger lunched with me at the house. On the 18th he takes up his new position as Minister President of Baden-Wuerttemburg, but will remain for the present as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs

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Committee of the Bundestag. He is in favor of a firm policy on Berlin.

Dr. Weitz, President of the German Red Cross, called on me this afternoon. He suggested the four Governments in control of Spandau Prison give the three prisoners a Christmas holiday. I can imagine he will receive short shrift from the Soviets if he makes such a plea to them. After visiting me, he went off to consult the British and French Ambassadors before taking the matter up with the Russians.

We dined tonight at the French Embassy. There were 42 guests, most of them Germans. I had a talk with Erhard about the latest developme in the coal situation here, also an interesting talk with Dr. Schneider of Duesseldorf about art collecting.

When we arrived home rather late, we found Joe Alsop had just come in after a hard trip from Cairo where he [redacted] interviewed Nasser. He thought Nasser was dejected and especially apprehensive over the situation in Iraq. A couple of days ago he seemed to have backed a coup there against Quasim and failed. He feels Quasim is falling into the hands of the Communists who, according to Joe, Nasser thoroughly dislikes.

Wednesday, December 10, 1958

Fought as usual today for firmness in Berlin. I see no way

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for the U. S. Government to avoid a decision, to be made known privately to the Soviets, that we are ready to preserve our rights in Berlin by force. This means an ultimate recourse to war, not waged in Berlin but between the US and the USSR. It would be [redacted] difficult to persuade our allies to adopt such a course, but unless we have the firm intention, if driven to it, to employ force no matter what the risks, we will never in my opinion reach a satisfactory arrangement with the Soviet Government. However we should decide, there should be no publicity or use of threats, but our stand should be conveyed privately to Khrushchev so that [redacted] at least he would make no miscalculations.

Thursday, December 11, 1958

I went to the Foreign Office to sign a treaty on aviation. Afterwards, von Brentano took me into another room, and I later sent the following telegram on our conversation. (Page 137 following.)

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1 P.M.
11 December 1958
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1239
REPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON ROUTINE 265
AmEmbassy PARIS ROUTINE 379

FonMin told me today Brandt would not be member German delegation since not in Executive Branch Fed Govt etc. but will be at Paris in close attendance on FonMin.

FonMin intends ask colleagues permit Brandt appear in course meeting to make statement on Berlin and be available for questioning.

FonMin intends ask colleagues to dinner Sunday night with Brandt and Spaak present. Wanted Secretary informed of this immediately.

Brandt will be Bonn tomorrow to see Chancellor and FonMin who hopes one result will be allay rumors of serious rift between Chancellor and Brandt.

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Dr. Pferdmenges came to lunch with me. He [redacted] asked me to have a talk with Miss Speer, daughter of Speer who is incarcerated in Spandau. I explained to him why I thought this would be inadvisable, but gave him a full report on Speer's physical condition, which is good. This is a [redacted] sad case. Nothing can ever be done about it unless the Soviets relax their severity and meanwhile this quite extraordinary man is spending the best years of his life in prison.

Pferdmenges is almost 80. He had just spoken to the Chancellor, whom he reports to be quite well again. He says the only flaw in the old boy's marvelous health is a slight weakness in his bronchial tubes. Pferdmenges spent some time in jail under the Nazis and is a [redacted] sympathetic fellow.

I attended Bill Trimble's big staff meeting this afternoon and in the course of it expressed my personal views on the Berlin situation. When it comes to considering the use of "force if necessary", I find it impossible to escape the conclusion that in order to avoid war one must be prepared and determined to engage in it as a last resort, and to have one's adversary know this.

We went tonight, I in a white tie and tails, to von Brentano's annual reception at the Stadthalle in Bad Godesberg. This turned out to be a dance of colossal proportions; two huge halls were filled with guests and clamant orchestras. The din was overwhelming, and

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the sense of enjoyment almost equally so. We were at a table with the agreeable Duckwitzes and the Japanese Ambassador and his wife.

I had quite a long talk with our host, von Brentano, about the Berlin situation. Amid the clang of cymbals, we managed to convey to each other our mutual belief in a policy of toughness. He, like many other Germans, was pleased with the President's news conference statement to the effect the United States has a right and duty to help maintain the freedom of Berlin until agreement is reached for the reunification of Germany.

In answer to a correspondent's question, President Eisenhower threw some light on the circumstances surrounding the original decision to locate free Berlin more than 100 miles from Allied borders. He said this was a political decision made near the end of the war by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin. He had himself suggested a line farther East, specifically, to include Thuringia, but his proposal was rejected.

He also said he had proposed at one time a German capital at the junction of the French, British and American Zones.

Friday, December 12, 1958

We sent off a telegram this morning about a possible communique to be issued by the Four Powers on the Berlin affair at the conclusion of the forthcoming meeting in Paris. (See pages 140-141.)

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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I suggest consideration be given to following draft communique by the Four Powers on Berlin affair. Believe consonant with views of Chancellor expressed in his message Embtel 1245 to Secretary.

BEGIN TEXT

The Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic and the United States consulted today on the proposal with respect to Berlin made by the Government of the Soviet Union as set forth in its notes of November 27, 1958. The four Foreign Ministers found themselves in full agreement on the following: (1) a the proposal of the Soviet Union is unacceptable; (2) any proposal with respect to Berlin the objective of which or the end result of which would be to endanger the freedom of the citizens of West Berlin is unacceptable; (3) any proposal in terms of an ultimatum is unacceptable; (4) unilateral abrogation of solemn international agreements with respect to Berlin will not be recognized; (5) as has been made clear many times, the Governments of France, Great Britain and the United States are always willing to discuss with the Government of the Soviet Union, as they did in Geneva in 1955, the larger problems of Europe including those arising from the division of Germany; (6) there will be further consultations between the four Governments and the

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AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

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other NATO members before replying to the Soviet notes of November 27.

END TEXT

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During the night, we sent to Washington a message to the Secretary from Chancellor Adenauer. (See pages 143-149.)

I gave a lunch for Willi Richter, head of the DGB Trade Union, and the following other members of the DGB: Georg Reuter, Bernhard Tacke, Kurt Stuehler, Alfred Heider. Staff members of the Embassy and the Consulate General at Duesseldorf, including Bill Tyler, Raymond Ludden, Dick Eldridge, Charles Kiselyak and William Frost also attended. We had an animated conversation afterwards about Berlin. The Germans all agreed it should be defended by force if necessary, and if we made any compromises in the beginning we might later be ~~forced~~ Faced with a post-Munich situation.

We went this evening to a farewell reception given by Chilean Ambassador Hormazabal and his wife. They are an estimable couple, and everyone is sorry to see them retire.

E and I left for Paris this evening.

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(AUG 57)

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SECRET 334

11 DEC 58 10 PM

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SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON ~~XXXXXXX~~ 1245

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FOR THE SECRETARY

Following message for you from Chancellor Adenauer just received from Deputy State Secretary Dittman: BEGIN VERBATIM TEXT:

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I am glad that, as I have just heard, you have made quick recovery from illness and it possible for you attend Foreign Ministers' conference and deliberations NATO. It is most reassuring for me to know you will be present at those discussions.

As I am sure discussions of Foreign Ministers in Paris will be of decisive importance for Europe and future of Atlantic Alliance, I consider it advisable for me to acquaint you of ideas engaging my attention in this grave stage our policy. As you know, I spent few days in Berlin recently. It was encouraging for me to note that neither people of Berlin nor Senate of city show any signs whatever of nervousness or weakened morale and that agreement exists between Berlin and Federal Republic in all questions of foreign policy. People of Berlin have meanwhile gone to polls. Outcome of election is clear proof their

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firm attitude with regard to those in power in so-called GDR and Soviet Union. Communist SED Party lost almost half number of votes it had obtained in 1954 election. It received mere 1.9 per cent of votes. That shows that people of Berlin are resolved to resist any threats by Soviet Union. I am absolutely sure that even if crisis becomes more acute this attitude of Berlin people will not change as long as western Powers adhere without restriction to their guarantee of freedom of western part of city and as long as Federal Republic and United States continue give economic assistance to Berlin. But I am just as sure that any hesitation or vacillation on part of three guaranteeing Powers is bound to cause deep anxiety and perhaps even panic in Berlin. Situation of West Berlin has changed fundamentally since 1948 blockade. Economy of city has blossomed out remarkably thanks to help of United States and continual support of Federal Republic, and, whereas in 1948 citizens of Berlin were all more or less equally poor, there are today large sections of population in Berlin who again have something to lose and must be afraid that they will lose their laboriously acquired possessions as well as their personal freedom. Furthermore, people of Berlin are acutely vigilant, and it is clear to every thinking person

that an air-lift would not repeat not manage to maintain, even approximately, living standard of West Berlin. Finally, at time of blockade nobody could leave Berlin while at present everyone is free to do so. I believe it is of decisive importance for development of West Berlin and of Federal Republic which would be infected by any unrest or panic in Berlin, as well as for development of Europe and free world that not repeat not slightest doubt should arise that the guarantors of Berlin and, in addition, NATO will stand by their obligations even if worst comes to worst.

ording to arrangements which have been made talks of Foreign Ministers on Berlin will be comparatively short. Important thing is therefore that communique should be very clear and unequivocal, for public interest all over world will be concentrated on text of communique. I have just stated effects that any vague formulations would have on Berlin. Furthermore I believe that if Soviets were to find in communique slightest signs that we were prepared to consider any restriction of rights of three western Powers in Berlin, such a mistake could give rise to genuine danger for world peace.

As you know, I share your frequently expressed and confirmed

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negotiations like sword of Damocles. It is therefore my opinion that Berlin question and larger problem, namely, restoration of German unity, should be dealt with separately. If these two questions were dealt with in conjunction with each other, either freedom of Berlin would be jeopardized or solution of all-German problem would engage us on path leading to more or less disguised capitulation to Soviet demands. Moreover, any deviation from repeated guarantees by western Powers with regard to Berlin would - permit me to repeat this once again - discredit all guarantees given by the West. You particularly, Mr. Dulles, who in recent years have done so very much, thanks to your clear ideas and your own firm conviction and will, for solidarity of free West in face of continual communist menace, you do not repeat not require to be told what consequences an even slightly ambiguous attitude on part of Western Powers would have throughout those parts of world which are still free today. In addition, it is my opinion that Soviet Union will not repeat not take any forcible measures against Berlin if western Powers show an unequivocal and firm attitude.

These remarks do not mean that, once Russian move against Berlin has been unequivocally repudiated, time may not have arrived, and indeed

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perhaps be opportune, to discuss with Soviets other questions settlement of which would serve to bring about general relaxation of tension - I have in mind the Geneva negotiations and German question in its entirety. After removal of blockade, too, negotiations were begun but at time produced no result. It might be advisable to indicate this willingness to negotiate, but only after it has been made quite plain to Kremlin that existing or pending agreements with Soviet Union will lose all value if it adheres to its method of unilateral denunciation of existing agreements.

I am conveying these ideas of mine to you in this way, as there is no repeat no possibility of discussing these grave questions personally with you. I believe, as I stated at beginning, that tone and contents of Paris communique will be decisive for future course of events, for in postwar times western world has surely never been more dependent than it is today on support of public opinion of all free peoples. Particular efforts at informing public will be required to make clear to non-committed nations, too, true nature of Soviet offensive.

I have written to Prime Minister Macmillan and Premier de Gaulle today to same effect.

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- 7 -

With cordial wishes for your complete recovery, and hoping to see you again soon.

Adenauer

END VERBATIM TEXT.

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AUTH:DCM William C. Trimble

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Saturday, December 13, 1958

Went to the Crillon to stay - for the first time in years. Found things in rather a turmoil at the Embassy - ditto at the Talleyrand, where Livie Merchant will establish his office.

At lunchtime Livie, Freddie Reinhardt, Bill Tyler (who came [redacted] down with us) and Martin Hillenbrand foregathered. The manager kindly put at our disposition the spectacular salon, overlooking the Place de la Concorde, used by the American delegation during the First World War Peace Conferences, and we ate in state.

After mulling over German problems, we adjourned to the Residence, where I was thrown into the arena with Foster, Secretary McElroy, General Twining (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), Norstad, Livie and many others. Foster looked tired, but [redacted] mentally as vigorous as ever. All announced for a firm stand on Berlin.

E and I dined at the Houghtons - a large and enjoyable party for the U. S. delegation. I stayed behind with Amo, Cecil Lyon, and Jock Whitney for a talk on Anglo-German relations. To bed at 2 a.m.

Sunday, December 14, 1958

Was not allowed to lie late. Went to the Talleyrand for a

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conference with Livie and Bill Tyler. Livie is a godsend for the Department - calm, resourceful, intelligent and attractive.

From 2:30 on, I remained chair-bound at the Quai d'Orsay, first for the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of France, the U.K. and the U.S., and next the same group with the German delegation added. Willy Brandt was invited to make a statement on the Berlin business. He did it admirably. Useful decisions were reached, as well as agreement on a communiqué, the initial draft of which on the U.S. side had been prepared by Lofty Becker and myself. Reporters and photographers waited below in the hundreds. The communiqué read:

"The Foreign Ministers of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States met on Dec. 14, 1958, in Paris, to discuss developments in the Berlin situation during the past month, including a note addressed to their several governments on Nov. 27 by the Soviet Union.

The four Foreign Ministers had the benefit of an oral statement on the situation in Berlin by Herr Brandt, governing mayor of that city.

The Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the United States once more reaffirmed the determination of their governments to maintain their position and their rights with

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respect to Berlin, including the right of free access.

They found unacceptable unilateral repudiation by the Soviet government of its obligations to the governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States in relation to their presence in Berlin and their freedom of access to that city, or the substitution of the German authorities of the Soviet Zone for the Soviet government in so far as those rights are concerned.

After further discussion of the Soviet notes of Nov. 27, 1958, the four Foreign Ministers found themselves in agreement on the basic issues to be dealt with in the replies to those notes.

They will consult with their allies in the NATO Council, following which the four governments will formulate their replies."

Just time to stop by the hotel on my way to Herbert Blankenhorn's apartment on Avenue Foch - a huge flat, lately purchased by the German Government. We had an excellent meal with a superb 1953 Berncastler Doktor. I sat between von Brentano and Blankenhorn, and after dinner had a long talk with Couve de Murville, a wise man. Spaak came in later. Coburn Kidd and I left together about midnight.

Monday, December 15, 1958

Talleyrand this morning. Then Lofty Becker, Tyler and myself met the French, British and German drafting committees at the Quai d'Orsay to draw up a suggested communiqué, for NATO

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Council consideration, on the Berlin problem. Daridan headed the French, Steel the British, and Grewe the German group. I think we did rather well.

Lunched at Frank Roberts' with his wife and Kit Steel. Pleasant and productive. Thence again to the Talleyrand, and tonight for dinner with the Norstads at Marne la Coquette, in their fine country house, called in army parlance the General's "Quarters".

Tuesday, December 16, 1958

Quite a day, commencing at the Talleyrand, then at the Palais du Chaillot. There was a restricted NATO Council meeting on Berlin, and I felt lucky to attend it. Foster made by all odds the most important speech; and it was listened to solemnly. He talked of Khrushchev's reckless and irresponsible propensities, and the dangers of any miscalculation by him of the firmness of the Western Powers. He riddled the argument in the Soviet note about the war years, by reading the transcript of a speech by Molotov in 1938 or 1939 asserting what warmongers the British and French were, and defending Hitlerism. Emphatically, Dulles stated it was within the power of our military establishment completely to destroy the Soviet Union if it should decide to provoke a war.

I lunched at the Travellers with Lofty Becker and Bill Tyler.

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Back at Chaillot, the three of us remained for three hours drafting a communiqué with representatives of the British, French, German, Canadian and Italian Governments, under the chairmanship of Shuckburgh of the International Staff. There was much bickering, but the result was not bad.

Thereafter, the NATO Ministers chopped up our language, and about eight p.m. produced the following text:

"1. The North Atlantic Council examined the question of Berlin.

2. The Council declares that no State has the right to withdraw unilaterally from its international engagements. It considers that the denunciation by the Soviet Union of the inter-allied agreements on Berlin can in no way deprive the other parties of their rights or relieve the Soviet Union of its obligations. Such methods destroy the mutual confidence between nations which is one of the foundations of peace.

3. The Council fully associates itself with the views expressed on the subject by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany in their statement of 14th December.

4. The demands expressed by the Soviet Government have created a serious situation which must be faced with determination.

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5. The Council recalls the responsibilities which each member state has assumed in regard to the security and welfare of Berlin, and the maintenance of the position of the Three Powers in that city. The member states of NATO could not approve a solution of the Berlin question which jeopardised the right of the three Western Powers to remain in Berlin as long as their responsibilities require it, and did not assure freedom of communication between that city and the free world. The Soviet Union would be responsible for any action which had the effect of hampering this free communication or endangering this freedom. The two million inhabitants of West Berlin have just reaffirmed in a free vote their overwhelming approval and support for that position.

6. The Council considers that the Berlin question can only be settled in the framework of an agreement with the USSR on Germany as a whole. It recalls that the Western Powers have repeatedly declared themselves ready to examine this problem, as well as those of European security and disarmament. They are still ready to discuss all these problems."

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The story is current "What do de Gaulle and Dulles have in common?" Answer: "Trouble with their colons." Excerpt from editorial on Berlin by Beuve-Méry in Le Monde: "Pirouettes Verbales".

Wednesday, December 17, 1958

Damp, mild day - four such in a row. To the Talleyrand, then to the Embassy. Lunched at Preston Grover's with David Schoenbrun, Bob Kleiman, Robert Doty of the New York Times, and Frank White of Time Magazine. As is the custom in this little club, no one asked embarrassing questions. The talk ranged over every conceivable European political subject. All of them feel de Gaulle needs to be told frankly what United States attitudes are about his tripartite consultation ideas, refusal to have IRBM's in France except under French custody, disinclination to join discussions on nuclear disarmament matters, and various other positions cherished by him.

Stayed at Preston's with the others until five o'clock, then went to the Talleyrand.

We dined tonight with Pauline and Philippe de Rothschild. Joe Alsop was the only other guest. The meal was a masterpiece, crowned with enormous truffles, and enlivened by a Batard Montrachet 1947, Chateau Lafite 1929, Chateau Mouton Rothschild 1900 (perfect) and Haut Peyraguey 1916.

We all went to Edmond de Rothschild's, where he and his

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Bulgarian [redacted] wife were giving a huge party in sponsorship of Israelian textiles. Saw Bourges-Manoury (who failed of re-election to Parliament and is devoting himself, lucky fellow, to shooting), the de la Béraudières and many other old friends. To bed at 2 a.m.

Thursday, December 18, 1958

To the Talleyrand. Read telegrams and the first draft of the answer to the Soviet note. Lunched with Paul Henri Spaak at his house on Villa Said. Jean Monnet, Henri Teitgen and Hervé Alphand were there. Before the others arrived, Spaak spoke in admiring terms of how Dulles had handled the Berlin matter before the Council.

The French and Spaak thought the English had been stupid in their management of the Free Trade Area dispute. There was considerable discussion over de Gaulle's refusal to recognize that France could not afford to become a major nuclear power.

Friday, December 19, 1958

Raining but mild - about 55°. Went to the Embassy to thank Flo Palmer and Marcelle Lecomte - those two wonderful women - for all their kindnesses. Had a long talk with Glenn Wolfe about his building plans - to reconstruct the annex, change the residence from 2 Avenue d'Iéna to 41 rue du Faubourg St. Honoré and the rest. He

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has talked to Congressman Rooney about this, but the FBO seems to have other less desirable dispositions in view, including the sale of number 41. I think Houghton's comment on this was excellent: "If the United States Government buys real estate primarily for speculation, perhaps it ought to take its profit."

Lunched with Jean Monnet at Avenue Foch. He was fine. He wishes de Gaulle would press for a six-nation political union, instead of vainly trying to set up a triumvirate with Great Britain and the United States.

Jean and I went to see the Vissons at the Plaza Athenée. Philip appeared, pyjamas, hands, and bare feet harlequined with paint. He works, as if driven by furies, in the bathroom. Aged 16, just recovered from a nervous breakdown, he took to the brush for the first time two months ago, has already had a successful vernissage in Paris, and will shortly show in New York. His work is somewhat morbid, but he has much talent. It was really an extraordinary spectacle; André and Assia are justly proud of him. I bought a picture.

Went to look at some early 19th century printed paper with Martinique scenes. Stopped to wish Pernet a Merry Christmas and read some telegrams at the office.

Had a [redacted] genial dinner with Virginia and Brose Chambers, and

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bitter tone of telegrams from Washington regarding the proposed German embargo or drastic cut-down of American coal shipments. He made a strong and excellent representation on the subject to Erhard, and for the moment it hangs in suspense. I hope some satisfactory compromise can be reached.

Sunday, December 21, 1958

A quiet day. E had a bad cold, so I went alone to the Herb Altschulls' afternoon eggnog party. Their house, perched on a hilltop in Muffendorf, has one of the finest views in this neighborhood. It was great fun, with many newspaper correspondents and their wives present. On the whole, I am inclined to think journalists are the most animated single class of men, and in many respects the most interesting in conversation on current topics, even when their information or views are not accurate.

Monday, December 22, 1958

I went to see Walter Hallstein this morning. He is here for a couple of days. He talked to me about his hopes and fears for the Common Market. Over-all, he thinks great progress has been made, a fine technical staff established, and his organization in good shape. He says he and his colleagues are working together as Europeans and not as representatives of their respective countries.

He considers them without exception superior men.

His Commission is charged with presenting a report by March 1, with the hope of outlining a reasonable compromise on the association of the Free Trade Area with the Common Market. This whole affair, as I have long suspected, has suffered from the lack of sound expert studies and been too political an approach. The British have threatened dire reprisals, and the French have dug in their heels. Eccles did not help matters in Paris but exasperated his already irritated opponents.

I told Walter of our concern over the current coal controversy between the U. S. and the Federal Republic. Since he is seeing the Chancellor this afternoon, he volunteered to bring this to his attention, and I saw no objection.

Sydney Gruson of the New York Times came to see me before lunch. His paper, like the other New York dailies, has not appeared for two weeks or longer. It is reported that the New York papers cut off from circulation are losing about $1,250,000 a day. Sydney was in Paris for the NATO conference and thought the results, as they regarded Berlin, had been satisfactory.

I went to a party given by our Marines for approximately 40 orphans drawn from Protestant and Roman Catholic institutions in Bad Godesberg. The children were a happy and well-scrubbed lot,

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feasting on cake, ice cream and soft drinks at long tables in front of a Christmas tree where they were later to receive individual gifts. This was a charming thing for the Marines to have done.

We gave a reception tonight at the Redoute from six to eight for about 600 members of the Embassy, Americans and Germans, and the American newspaper correspondents and others. The party seemed to be a success. We were left unharmed by the handshaking.

Tuesday, December 23, 1958

John Rich came to see me this morning. He is shortly going home to participate in the NBC year-end broadcasting festival. He asked the usual questions, i. e. (a) was the U. S. prepared to go to a general war over Berlin; (b) what military measures were we going to take if ground and air access were denied us; (c) what did I personally feel were the prospects for reunification of Germany; and so forth.

As regards the first two, I told him that whether or not I knew the answers obviously I was not going to discuss them with him. He took this in good part, and said one must always try. As to (c), I share the opinion of all the correspondents here that the Soviets are serious in refusing to contemplate reunification and intend if possible to compel the two Germanies to discuss the question

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with each other.

Morris Helitzer of McGraw Hill Publications followed John and presented almost precisely the same line of interrogation.

This afternoon was largely given up to eating and drinking. I attended a party at Phil Eckert's office where we disposed of some of the American surplus agricultural products.

There was another Christmas party in the Administration Section, [redacted] then I made a Christmas broadcast over American Forces Network at Frankfurt.

I saw this afternoon a 12-minute television film of President Eisenhower's recent press conference, devoted largely to the Berlin affair. The statement itself was excelle[illegible]lthough his delivery and faulty sentence construction detracted somewhat from the strength of the sentiments expressed. One of those present said afterwards h[illegible] thought the President was having trouble with his false teeth. I told him this was most unlikely to be the case, for I had a distinct recollection of the President saying, six or seven years ago, he had been born in the Texas county later to become famous, because of flucrine in its water, as the locality in the world where teeth were best. He laughingly commented in this connection that until he was 50 he [redacted] never had a filling. The truth of the matter is, he is not highly articulate, although easy in conversation, but his judgment is

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sound and on questions of principle, as in the case of Berlin, he puts over to an audience by his sincerity and charm the force of his convictions.

Wednesday, December 24, 1958

We had a gay Christmas party this morning at the office for those immediately connected with it.

Tonight E, the children and I attended the Christmas Carol Service at the Church. It was beautifully conducted by Pastor Sutton, whose sermons I greatly enjoy.

Thursday, December 25, 1958

Great excitement around the house with the children thumping about, tearing open presents, losing cards and the rest. Things got fairly well cleared away before lunch, for which we were joined by Rebecca Wellington, John Hay, Maya de Montadouin, Al Wells, Lynne Johnson and her nephew Carl Smith, and Muriel Ransom with her two children, Cheryl and Michael. All in all, it was a wonderful Christmas and we enjoyed it.

It has been damp for the last couple of days, but with the temperature about 60°.

Friday, December 26, 1958

To the office this morning. The Soviets bounced a note in to

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our Embassy in Moscow yesterday, saying they would receive no further communications from our Governments which did not refer to the German Democratic Republic by its proper name instead of our using terms such as the "Soviet Zone of Germany". There is also great speculation about Mikoyan's contemplated visit to the United States. Topping, the AP correspondent in Berlin, has been badgered lately by members of the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin with all sorts of questions regarding our policy for the city. One of the Soviet Embassy Secretaries told him yesterday it would be a great mistake for the Allied powers to answer the Soviet note before Mikoyan had a chance to talk to the President and Secretary about the Berlin situation.

We left tonight with the children and three dogs for Berlin.

Saturday, December 27, 1958

Arrived in Berlin. Rainy day. Office almost deserted. Had talk there with Hamlett - he and I see eye to eye on the local problems, and on what U. S. policy ought to be - and we hope is - in respect to them.

Rebecca Wellington and I motored over to the East Sector - "flying the flag" it is called. Why American Ambassadors sport two flags, a national and a diplomatic one, is unknown to me. So far as I have observed, this is not done by Ambassadors from other

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countries, and it seems a bit pretentious. East Berlin looked as dreary as ever, and the banal Stalinallee buildings dull as ditch-water. The people are, we are told, healthy and well-fed, but they must be unspeakably bored with their drab lives.

Back on glowing Kurfurstendamm, we stopped at the Hilton to sample the bar, then to lunch at home. Most of the houses in West Berlin are decked out with wreaths, and Christmas trees abound - in the East one saw nothing of the sort.

This afternoon, Cort Schuyler and Ham came to see me. We talked of how to defend our position in Berlin, without engaging in general war except as a last resort. SHAPE has certain ideas, and Cort wants me to talk to Norstad about them. Ham and I are not in favor of mere probing operations on the ground, as has been sometimes suggested. A few rails pulled on the tracks, a couple of bridges blown on the autobahn, would immobilize our military trains and convoys, and make us ridiculous, unless we were prepared to keep the routes open by the employment of substantial forces. Ham and I think, if the Soviets turn over checkpoint control to the GDR, we ought at once to move a souped-up division to Helmstedt, to show we really mean business. As always, one must reckon with the British and the French, who are much less inclined to a tough policy than ourselves, though they have gone along nicely on the change in standing orders.

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Under certain circumstances, we might have to act unilaterally, in view of our much larger capabilities and the far greater expectations entertained of us by Berliners and West Germans, but I fervently hope we will not have to do so.

Sunday, December 28, 1958

Cold, gray day, darkness at 4:30 p.m. E and I took a long walk this morning. It is always interesting in this suburb to see the variety of architecture, much of it completely modern. It is quite astounding how courageously, one might almost say recklessly, rich and well-to-do Germans have invested in new and expensive houses in this city surrounded by hostile elements.

Mr. Johnston brought out some telegrams from the Embassy - a couple of top secrets requiring me to see the Chancellor upon my return to Bonn, and a long acknowledgment by Foster Dulles, who is in Jamaica, of a recent message from Adenauer.

The big financial operation, of which Monnet has high hopes, is to be officially announced tonight. Apparently, the franc is to be devalued about 19%, and there will be general arrangements in Britain and Europe on convertibility of exchanges.

My own Christmas financial obligations also terminate tonight, with the presentation to our eight local policemen of thirty-two bottles of scotch and gin, and boxes of cigars. Between the servants, gardeners,

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chauffeurs and guards here and in Mehlem, and the crew and attendants on the train, there has been quite an outflow of money and other presents.

I have had a quiet day for reading, and studying my German grammar. The three four-footed boys are furious at being cooped up in the house and garden, but we dare not let them venture on the streets where many wolf-hounds parade unleashed, despite the law.

Although the local press is not badly edited, one feels somewhat cut off here from outside news. The coverage of the Stars and Stripes, for instance, is almost twenty-four hours behind its equivalent in West Germany. Consequently, the Mission's Wireless Bulletin is more important here in Bonn, and its contents have a wide distribution locally. Today's, amongst many items, referred to the NATO disclosure that the U.S. carries three-quarters of the Western defense burden.

The Germans have been intrigued by our State Department paper linking the four-power status of Berlin to the inclusion in the Soviet orbit of Mecklenburg, Thuringia and Saxony. Smirnow has been sent for, and has left for Moscow. Topping, of the AP, is in constant demand by the Soviets in East Berlin to relay their views to our Government. He is able and discreet, but one wonders why the same

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communications can not be made through the American Ambassador in Moscow.

Monday, December 29, 1958

Office in morning. E, Rebecca Wellington and I went at noon to visit the Charlottenburg Palace, the only great structure once occupied by the Hohenzollerns remaining in Berlin. It was heavily damaged during the war and is now being restored. Its lines are graceful, its dome with gilt figures imposing, and the exterior park [redacted] pleasing. Closing one end of the terrace is a small Regency type 1820 house of rare architectural appeal. The collections were not on view - most of them are still in packing cases - except for a spectacular assortment of musical instruments. It hardly seems possible that two hundred years ago this Schloss, now surrounded by city dwellings and offices, was the scene of departure for hunting parties.

This afternoon, I wrote and made a recording of a New Year's message to be broadcast by RIAS, as follows:

"Each New Year furnishes its fresh hopes and fears. One can not be born again in this life, but the first of January recurrently invites most of us to expect an end, or at least a respite, to the ills of the past; and to offer bright prospects for the future.

In such a spirit we become optimists, and engage in pleasant

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day dreams. Indeed, we have much to be thankful for. In spite of evil that often threatens us, we have, in dangerous days, maintained the peace, and can look forward with confidence to what tomorrow may present."

Afterwards, I was interviewed off-the-record by Melvin Lasky and Lowenthal of the London Observer.

Had a massage this evening by the best artist in this field I've ever met.

E and I went downtown tonight, and saw Ingrid Bergman and Cary Grant in "Indiscreet", for which La Bergman has been awarded a prize for the best single performance of the year by an actress. I would not rate her histrionic gifts that highly, but she has much charm, and the piece was gay and amusing. Her bull neck rather distorts her physical lines.

Tuesday, December 30, 1958

Office. Guf and I called on Willy Brandt at the Rathaus. He was in splendid spirits. I do like him - just the man for a crisis. Back in our own building, we found the officers giving Ham a surprise 50th birthday party. He is a wonderful fellow. I enjoyed talking to Guf going back and forth to the Rathaus. He loves Berlin and really understands the special psychology of its people. Deservedly popular, he is the right man for the position he occupies,

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particularly at this time. He is generous, sympathetic and outgoing, as is Gretchen.

Bill Harvey and Guf came to see me at noon.

This afternoon, I went over to the Berlin Memorial Library to make a presentation of some 300 books; 100 will be on the shelves there, and the rest are for deposit in the Branch Libraries. There were a few speeches, one by myself. Joachim Tiburtius, Senator for Education and Culture; Senatsdirektor Heinrich Albertz; Dr. Steinberg, Chief of Libraries and Adult Education, Berlin Senat; Dr. Kohn, Acting Director of the American Memorial Library; and others were present. There was TV, radio and press coverage. The total of U. S. grants to this institution amounts to DM 5,400,000 (over $1,300,00) of which DM 1,000,000 has been used for books. Since the main building is close to the East Sector, it is visited by hundreds of East Berliners and other East Zone residents every day.

The Guflers had a party for the Mission Staff this evening. It was genial and lively.

Wednesday, December 31, 1958

Office. Discussion of complicated contingency plans. Cloudy today, with temperature varying between 36° and 45°. Since sunset is around four o'clock, and sunrise at 8:15, the days are short.

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Bought some shirts this morning, and also visited the excellent haberdashery Dietel.

The Guflers and Findley Burns lunched with us. We drank with the Hamletts and left tonight for Bonn. Sasha has enjoyed her stay, having discovered the riding school. The children go to the movies, take long walks, and guzzle confectionery; the dogs guzzle and sleep.

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